MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMP NO. 57
HILL CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
(510) 649-2500

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II. JULY, 1928 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMP NO. 57
HILL CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA

EDITORIAL

WHAT ABOUT THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR? A REVIEW AND DISCUSSION.
Guy F. Hershberger

THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN 1528-1928: A STORY OF MARTYRDOM AND LOYALTY. II.
John Horsch

MENNONITISM IN A LATIN-AMERICAN BACKGROUND
Josephus W. Shank

THE VALUE OF FAMILY HISTORY FOR MENNONITE HISTORY: NAFZIGER FAMILY MATERIAL III. JOHANNES NAFZIGER'S LETTER.
Ernst Correll

EARLY MENNONITE SUNDAY SCHOOLS. II. VINELAND, 1848.
Silas Hertzler

TWO CENTURIES OF AMERICAN MENNONITE LITERATURE: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, VI. 1905-1927.
Harold S. Bender

GOSHEN COLLEGE - GOSHEN, INDIANA

LIBRARY
CALIFORNIA BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Books By Mennonite Authors

MENNONITES IN THE WORLD WAR, OR NONRESISTANCE UNDER TEST. By *J. S. Hartzler*. Cloth, $1.50.

This book sets forth the peace principles of the Mennonite Church as taught at all times and practiced in time of war. It contains a narrative of events during the World War bearing on the doctrine of Nonresistance, setting forth the trials, testimonies, etc., of those whose conscience constrained them to a faithful adherence to the peace principles of the Prince of Peace.

MENNO SIMONS, HIS LIFE, LABORS, AND TEACHINGS. By *John Horsch*. Cloth, $1.25.

A work based on extensive research and a thorough knowledge of the original sources. The life and arduous labors of this great leader and hero of the faith are attractively presented. Size 6 x 8½ inches. 324 pages, with a map of the Netherlands and Northwest Germany.

MODERN RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM. By *John Horsch*. Cloth, $1.50.

A timely exposure and refutation of Modernism which has attracted wide attention. Dr. James M. Gray has the following to say concerning it in the Introduction: "This book furnishes facts. It gives the names of the men in this country who are leading the rebellion against Bible Christianity. It locates the colleges and theological seminaries they represent. It quotes their utterances as to the Bible, God, Christ, man, sin, salvation and future life, and incidentally divine and human government. It tells you where these utterances are found, gives you title, chapter and page where you can read them in their context. It is fair, clar, scholarly and bold. It is used as a text book in the Pastor's Course of the Moody Bible Institute." 28 chapters, 320 pages.

MENNONITE HANDBOOK OF INFORMATION. By *L. J. Heatwole*. Cloth, $1.25.

The book presents historical data relating to the rise and progress of the Mennonite Church in America. This work is a studied presentation of every link in the chain of events leading from the earliest beginnings up to the present day in maintaining the Articles of her Confession of Faith. 192 pages. Size 5½ x 8 inches.

THE IDEAL CHRISTIAN HOME. By *J. S. Shoemaker*. Cloth, $1.25.

An admirable discussion of the home relationships, duties and responsibilities, presenting the basic principles upon which a Christian home should be established and touching the special part of the different members of the family in making a true Christian home. Printed on buff colored paper and attractively bound in cloth. 176 pages. Size 5½ x 7½ inches. Very suitable as a gift.

MENNONITES OF AMERICA. By *C. Henry Smith*. Cloth, $2.25.

A story of the Mennonite Church as well as the Mennonite people. Tells of their early settlements, their trials with the Indians, experiences in war, the books they read, the songs they sang, their customs, doctrines and practices. 35 half-tone pictures on special paper. 500 pages.

READY SCRIPTURAL REASONS. By *Geo. R. Brunk*. Cloth, $1.25.

This book turns the Gospel light upon many questions which are asked by earnest inquirers after Gospel truth. It gives Scriptural reasons for Christian conduct and the maintaining of the principles and doctrines as believed and practiced by the Mennonite Church. Arranged in question and answer form. 216 pages. Size 5½x7½ inches.

Mennonite Publishing House - - Scottdale, Pa.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

PUBLISHED BY GOSHEN COLLEGE, GOSHEN, INDIANA
Sanford Calvin Yoder, *President*

HAROLD S. BENDER, *Editor*

Associate Editors

JOHN UMBLE GUY F. HERSHBERGER EDWARD YODER

Editorial and Publication Office, Administration Building, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

VOLUME II JULY 1928 NUMBER 3

EDITORIAL 157

WHAT ABOUT THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR? 159
A Review and Discussion. *Guy F. Hershberger*

THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN 1528-1928 176
A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty. *John Horsch.*

MENNONITISM IN A LATIN AMERICAN BACKGROUND . . 192
Josephus W. Shank.

THE VALUE OF FAMILY HISTORY FOR MENNONITE HISTORY . 198
Illustrated by Nafziger Family History Material. III. Europe (Continued) A Letter by Johannes Nafziger. *Ernst Correll.*

EARLY MENNONITE SUNDAY SCHOOLS, II. 205
The School at Vineland, Ontario, 1848. *Silas Hertzler.*

TWO CENTURIES OF AMERICAN MENNONITE LITERATURE . 207
A Critical Bibliography, VI. 1905-1927. *Harold S. Bender.*

THE PRICE of the Mennonite Quarterly Review is One Dollar a year, prepaid in American Territory, in Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries add twenty five cents postage. Single copies, thirty-five cents postpaid.

REMITTANCES should be sent by draft on Chicago or New York, Money Order, or personal check (or postage for amounts less than one dollar), payable to Goshen College. Receipt of subscription is included with subscriber's address on each copy. CHANGE OF ADDRESS. For change of address give both old and new addresses.

SUBSCRIPTIONS should be sent to The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1927 at the post office at Goshen, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

SCHOOLMASTERS ARE ENTRUSTED with the children by the Lord and Brotherhood; therefore they should teach them to honor and fear God, and do the very best for them. . . . Great care and discrimination is necessary in the training of children. Often a child can be trained and taught with kind words, while severity would be all in vain. Another may be won with rewards, while strictness may be necessary to train and teach the third. . . . . But the little ones who have just come to school for the first time need sympathy.

The schoolmasters and school mistresses shall see to it that the children do not hear quarreling, disunity, and loud talking. They shall incite them to gentleness and self control by means of the example of a peaceful, friendly, long-suffering, disciplined life and quiet demeanor. . . . . Neither shall a brother or sister be permitted in discipline of either large or small children to be harsh, rude, rash, or angry, or to use blows or injurious treatment in any way. . . . .

—From the instructions to Hutterian school teacher in the *Schulordnung* of 1578.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II JULY, 1928 NUMBER 3

Editorial

THE FORCES IN AMERICA WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE HAVE BEEN FOCUSED successively on various objectives since the World War. The first goal was the completion and perfection of the League of Nations with the United States as member. Failing in this, there was a drive for entrance into the World Court. The next step was toward disarmament in the recent ill-fated naval conference in Switzerland, followed by the successful hamstringing of the "big navy" program during the sessions of the past Congress. This last success was scarcely a step forward, since it really was but a check to aggressively advancing navalism. But now the proposal for the outlawry of war by the nations of the world has been put forward as a practical objective along the road to world peace. The speed with which the proposal has been advanced in the realm of practical politics toward an imminent consummation is fairly bewildering. Before the average "man in the street" has had time to get his bearings on the question to know what it is all about, he is informed that Secretary Kellogg has almost secured the promises of the whole world to forever outlaw war. In fact as THE REVIEW goes to press (middle of July) the daily newspapers record the acceptance of the proposal by the last of the great nations.

Well, what about it? What is meant by the proposal to "outlaw war." Will it be an effective means for the attainment and maintenance of world peace? Will an agreement to outlaw war be merely another "scrap of paper", or is there a real "will to peace" behind the movement toward this goal. Are we dreaming?

Again, what about it? What shall the evangelical, non-resistant Christian, think about it? These are questions which face the thinking Christian who is vitally interested in peace and his responsibility for its attainment. Professor Hershberger presents for such inquiring thinkers a clear analysis of the proposal, chiefly on the basis of C. C. Morrison's notable book, *The Outlawry of War*. He sets this latest move for world-peace in its proper light, in its relation to the other movements for

peace with their various objectives, and in its relation to pacifism. His first endeavor is to *understand* the proposal and *appreciate* as far as possible the spirit and argument produced for it by its advocates. This done, he examines the assumptions underlying the proposal from the point of view of the non-resistant Christian, pointing out strength and weakness, and attempting an evaluation. At the close the question is raised regarding the personal obligation of the Christian who desires to merit the beautitude of his Lord pronounced upon the peacemakers.

WITH THE SECOND INSTALMENT OF THE INTENSELY INTERESTING story of the Hutterian Brethren, John Horsch brings us to their tragedy. The Swiss Mennonites have their martyr history, but it is fairly surpassed by the sufferings and tragedies of their Hutterian Brethren in Moravia and Hungary. Marvel at the suffering is exceeded by but two emotions, appreciation of the fidelity and sincerity with which the remnant maintained their faith at all hazards, and horror at the depths to which the Christian leaders and crowned heads of Europe could go in the extermination of these exemplary apostolic Christians and most valuable citizens. Read the story and learn what human beings are capable of, possessed by the Prince of Darkness, and possessed by the Lord of Glory.

THROUGHOUT MUCH OF THEIR HISTORY, MENNONITES HAVE BEEN "pilgrims and foreigners in a strange land," even in their native lands. For the first three hundred or more years after their origin in Zurich in 1525, their basic principles and actual practice so differentiated them from their fellow-citizens as to make them at least spiritual aliens in the civilization of their time. More often than not, the institutional authorities of this civilization, both in church and state, endeavored to crush or expel these strange, unwanted aliens. So the Mennonites have wandered about the northern hemisphere, from Switzerland and Holland to Germany, France, Russia, Siberia, the United States, Canada, and finally Mexico and South America, transplanting themselves with remarkable fidelity to their basic faith and life. During these centuries of transplanting they have often found themselves in alien environment. Until recently, however, the Teutonic culture to which they were native had always furnished their environment in either German or Anglo-Saxon form, with minor exceptions, saving for the transplantation of the Prussian Mennonites into the Slavic culture of South Russia and Siberia.

But now the Mennonites find themselves in Latin America. For over ten years missionaries of the (old) Mennonite Church have been working in the Argentine with the result that today there are about 250

Argentine Mennonites. Again, since the World War, several thousand Mennonites from Manitoba have transplanted themselves to Mexico and to the South American state of Paraguay. As a result there are now Latin-American Argentines who are members of a Swiss-South German-North American Mennonite Church, and a colony of Dutch-Prussian-Russian Manitoba Mennonites living in a Latin American country. Both of these groups propose to live as Mennonites with the historic faith and practice of four centuries as their standard, in the midst of a Latin American civilization. The Mennonite picture is being painted on a new background. How will the colors show up, and how will the painting look ten years from now?

It is in answer to the question, "what sort of a background will Mennonites find themselves in contact with in Latin America and what will this background mean to them," that Missionary J. W. Shank, of Trenque Lauquen, Argentina, writes. As one of the founders of the American Mennonite Mission in Argentina, and probably the first Mennonite to set his foot on South American soil and to learn to know the Latin American background, Shank knows his subject. Think with him as he points out what Mennonites face in Latin America.

IT IS WITH DIFFICULTY THAT A SINGLE LEADER CAN BE PICKED OUT of the whole middle section of Swiss Mennonite History, 1600-1800, concerning whom anything at all is known, much less material for a biography. Documents tell us but little, and literary remains are exceeding scarce. One exception to the rule is the person of Johannes Nafziger, 1707-1781, an Amish Bishop at Essingen, in the Palatinate. There are extensive court records dealing with his activities. In addition a letter of his has been preserved which contains much interesting material. It is striking that in both instances the material has been preserved, or rather created, by "troubles." The court records arise out of his trial for violation of a law regarding transfers from the Reformed Church to the Mennonites, and th letter arises out of difficulties in the Amish congregation in Holland with which he was requested to deal. Much of the material found in the court records appeared in the January, 1928, number of THE REVIEW, as a part of the "Nafziger Family Material." Dr. Ernest Correll, who has been gathering the Nafziger material, continues the story of Johannes Nafziger in this issue with the first instalment of the translation of his letter. The remainder will appear in a later issue.

DR. HERTZLER CONTINUES HIS BRIEF STUDIES IN EARLY MENNONITE Sunday Schools. As indicated in the article itself, which is on the Sunday School of 1848 at Vineland, Ontario, additional information has been

secured on a still earlier Sunday School in Ontario just as THE REVIEW goes to press. This material will be presented in a later issue. Dr. Hertzler will continue his studies at regular intervals.

WITH THE SIXTH INSTALMENT, THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN Mennonite Literature, which was begun in the initial issue of THE REVIEW, January, 1927, is concluded. "Concluded" is the proper word, rather than "completed" since the last instalment, which contains the literature of all the Mennonite groups outside of the (old) Mennonite Church for the past 25 years, is the least complete of all. The large number of groups, and the difficulty of securing adequate lists of their publications combine to make this section more or less of a trial bibliography. Since a number of new items have been found, and considerable revision of certain sections of the bibliography was necessary, it has been decided to publish the bibliography in book form. It will appear later on in the year, as described in the introduction to the instalment in this number.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

GUY F. HERSHBERGER, Professor of History at Goshen College.

JOHN HORSCH, Historian and Author, Scottdale, Pa.

JOSEPHUS W. SHANK, Minister and Missionary in the American Mennonite Mission, Trenque Lauquen, Argentina, South America.

DR. ERNST CORRELL, Professor of Economics at Goshen College.

DR. SILAS HERTZLER, Professor of Education and Psychology at Goshen College.

HAROLD S. BENDER, Professor of Church History and Sociology at Goshen College.

What About the Outlawry of War?

A Review* and Discussion

Guy F. Hershberger

Since the inception of the outlawry movement ten years ago the "outlawry of war" has attained such prominence in the vocabulary of peace advocates that the term is more frequently heard and used than clearly understood. Dr. Morrison in his book bearing this title, presents a thorough and critical analysis of the outlawry proposal, clearing up for the reader in admirable fashion just what, in the minds of its advocates, the outlawry of war is, what it is not, how it can be brought about, and what are the conditions and auxiliaries necessary for its successful accomplishment. In addition, Dr. Morrison points out the relationship between the outlawry movement and other contemporary peace movements.

The author of the outlawry proposal is Salmon Oliver Levinson, a Jewish lawyer of Chicago, who is chairman of the American Committee for the Outlawry of War. He first set forth his views in an article in the *New Republic* of March 9, 1918, shortly after Woodrow Wilson published his "Fourteen Points" and at a time when the world was longing for peace. American peace lovers had accepted Woodrow Wilson as their spokesman, however, and Mr. Levinson's idea attracted little attention. Out of Wilson's idealism there emerged in due time the League of Nations which became an accomplished reality, but which the United States Senate finally rejected. In addition to the League, Europe established the Permanent Court of International Justice which the United States has also declined to enter.

America's refusal to join these European organizations has produced much confusion in American peace thinking. Of the numerous organized peace societies, one group feels that the United States should join the League of Nations, another the World Court; one group is in favor of joining both, another is opposed to both. In fact, there has been so much quarreling among the organizations themselves that the peace movement in general has suffered greatly. This together with the additional fact that the United States seems officially determined to keep out of the European organizations has caused American peace advocates to look for another course of procedure.

In the meantime the supporters of the Levinson idea have slowly in-

---

**The Outlawry of War, A Constructive Policy for World Peace.* By Charles Clayton Morrison, D. D., Litt. D., Editor of *The Christian Century*. With a Foreword by John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Colby, 1927. pp. xxx, 300. $3.00.

creased in numbers until today the outlawry movement is a really important one. It appeals to such opponents of the League as Senator William E. Borah because it suggests a peace program apart from the League, and the friends of the League are beginning to support it since there is no immediate prospect of entering the League. Many people, moreover, are willing to support any movement which promises to do something for the great cause of world peace and feel that they can support both the League and the outlawry movement even though some outlawrists are opposed to the League.

While Dr. Morrison is not opposed to the League of Nations as such, and does not deny that it can and does contribute much to a better understanding among the nations, he holds that it is inadequate to cope with the institution of war itself because it does not strike at the root of the system. He locates its weakness in the fact that the League is a politico-military organization rather than a juridical one, and that it recognizes war as a legal institution. In fact it provides for military force to compel nations to remain peaceful. In other words, the League would wage war to make a nation cease waging war, which is not doing away with war at all. To have a warless world no one must wage war.

The outlawry movement clearly represents a more radical attitude than most of the "orthodox" peace thinking of the past century. Morrison himself says that the movement "is intended to be nothing short of a world revolution on the question of peace and war." It should be made clear on the other hand that Morrison is not an ultra-pacifist. The outlawrist does not take the non-resistant position that the use of force or that personal self-defense is wrong, nor that it is morally wrong for the individual to enlist when his country calls, or that a nation ought not defend itself when wantonly attacked by a "bandit" nation. Even though he would take this position, Morrison thinks this is so strictly a moral question to be dealt with by the individual person, or nation (if one could conceive of a non-resistant nation) that any attempt to outlaw self-defense would be futile and absurd. One might try to persuade a nation not to defend itself, but it is impossible to compel it by law not to do so.

It is evident then, that the outlawrist is blazing a new trail. He does not follow the pacifist. He refuses to travel the politico-military road of the League of Nations. He is not a non-resistant. But where does the trail lead? The believer in non-resistance may say that, with the right of self-defense once admitted, war is inevitable. The ardent advocate of the League contends on the other hand that without military sanctions, outlawry is a futile attempt to abolish war by mere fiat. Is it possible that both are mistaken? The outlawrist believes they are.

In order to appreciate fully the path which the outlawrist chooses to follow it is necessary to understand clearly his conception of what war itself is. This point is fundamental. He insists that war is not a necessary expression of the combative nature of humanity. He admits that strife and conflict can never be done away with so long as human nature remains as it is, but insists that war is not a necessary expression of this strife. "The movement to abolish war does not involve antagonism to the natural combative impulses of human nature, any more than the establishment of an orderly, law-abiding civil society in place of the individualism of frontier or primitive society involves such antagonism." (p. 79). The outlawrist insists further that war is not on the same level as the police force. The police force protects, but war destroys. The police force is the proper application of force for a good cause. But war is "an irrational, misapplied, and barbaric *abuse* of force." (p.81). The fundamental feature of war in the mind of the outlawrist is its institutional character. War is more than a method of settling international disputes. It is more than a great conspiracy backed by authority. *War is an institution.* This definition gets to rock bottom.

Since war is an institution accepted by society as essential, or at least inevitable, society continues to think in terms of war, to prepare for war, to organize for war. "Society is not organized for peace; it is actively organized for war." (p. 92). Nations are preparing for war. They are talking it. Furthermore, the law is on the side of war. There is nothing to keep a man from talking war. But the man who talks peace is likely to be jailed. The law is on the wrong side of this great moral question. Not only the law, however, but public opinion, caught by the trappings of the vicious institution, is as yet on the wrong side of the question. War has been professionalized and associated with it there is an enormous display of discipline, military etiquette, and refinement. Everyone, the scientist, the statesman, and the preacher included, is captured by the glamour of the military profession upon which is heaped honor and respect to a limitless degree. As Dr. Morrison puts it, "By a process that is infernal in its seductiveness, the military profession allies itself with the most sacred professions of civil life." (p. 105). And as a result, society is blinded to the fact that this institution of war stands for everything which society hates.

It is this condition, this institutionalized character of war, which must be changed. After all, in spite of its attractiveness, everyone in his sober moments will agree that war is a vicious thing which should be done away with. The outlawrist holds that if the public is once convinced that war can be avoided it will be only too glad to abolish it. The essential step to this end is to outlaw it.

What then is outlawry? It is something so simple that one is made to wonder why the idea did not gain prominence long ago. It is merely the substitution of law and a genuine world court for war as an instrument for settling international problems. It is the thesis of the outlawrist that law is the only thing which can possibly displace war in our present social order. Arbitration, reduction of armaments, leagues, and balances of power cannot, for they recognize the war system and operate under it. But law can operate in place of war. The outlawrist lays down as his major premise the thesis that "Law, freely established and accepted by the will of the nations, administered with juridical authority by a recognized court, is the direct antithesis of the war system and the constructive final aim of all peace effort." (p. 34).

Following up this major premise, the first step must be the initiation of the outlawry of war. This means that some nation must make the start by declaring its readiness to enter a general agreement with the rest of the nations to abandon war for peace. The resolution presented to the United States senate by Senator Borah in February, 1923, if adopted would serve the purpose well. The present proposal of Secretary of State Kellogg is a step in the right direction. Dr. Morrison believes that such a challenge placed before the nations of the world by a powerful nation like the United States will be met with favorable action. No nation can afford to ignore it. Failure to respond will stamp a nation at once as militaristic.

The next step would be the calling of a conference for the drafting of a general open treaty in which all the nations would pledge themselves not to go to war. Such questions as disarmaments, naval reductions, balances of power, and military sanctions would not be brought before the conference. It would be a conference for the one sole purpose of outlawing war. The treaty would be a very simple one, clearly pledging each signatory power not to go to war. This would be the only essential feature of the treaty.

The treaty once signed, a code of laws must be formulated governing the conduct of the nations. The outlawrist scouts the idea that codification of the essential points of international law need be a long drawn out process of evolution. All that is needed to begin with is a sufficient body of law to start a real court of international justice going. This is not much. The document need not be as long even as the constitution of the United States which was made in four months time. In fact about three-fourths of all existing international rules should be scrapped, because they are rules of war rather than rules of peace. In comparing this task with the work of Hugo Grotius of the seventeenth century, founder of international law and author of *De jure belli et pacis,* Morrison says: "Ours is an incom-

parably simpler task than his. We do not wish the laws of war codified, any more than we desire the standards and methods of murder or piracy or slavery codified. We wish the war system taken clean out of the legal system of mankind." (p. 163).

The code of law once agreed upon, the next step would be the establishment of a real world court. The emphasis here is on the word *real,* because the outlawrist insists that both the Hague Tribunal and the League of Nations Court are essentially arbitration courts and not juridical. Neither substitutes law for war. Both recognize the war system. Neither is equipped with a body of international law nor is either likely to build up such a body through precedents.

According to Morrison there are three essential points of a real world court such as that advocated by the outlawrists. These are a permanent body of judges, a body of codified law, and the power of jurisdiction. The Hague Tribunal has none of these essential features and the League of Nations Court has only the first one. A court such as the outlawrist advocates would have jurisdiction and power to summon a nation to court and render a decision. If the nation failed to appear, the decision would be made anyway, as in the case of civil courts, and the decision would be accepted as final. Under all circumstances, however, no nation would go to war, for it is so agreed. If the court should decide that it has no jurisdiction in a particular case, the case would be settled out of court or not settled at all as is frequently done in civil cases. But in any event, the nations are pledged not to go to war.

At this point the question naturally arises, how is the proposed court to enforce its decrees. What are the sanctions? The League of Nations, for example, provides in Article X for military force to be used by the various members of the League against the nation which fails first to submit its case before the League. Article X was regarded by Woodrow Wilson as the very heart of the League covenant. He said, "There is only one way to insure the world of peace; that is by making it so dangerous to break the peace that no other nation will have the audacity to attempt it." (p. 179). But the outlawrist takes the very opposite point of view. Morrison states this view as follows: "Any attempt to provide for the compulsory settlement of *all* disputes, of whatever nature, has in it the seeds of war more than of peace. With clairvoyant insight and wisdom the proposal to outlaw war steers clear of that rock of disaster, *but retains the absolute ban against war."* (p. 68). "The outlawrist is not against the league: he is against *war*—against the war system which is no less in the league than in any other military alliance which history shows us. He is in favor of conference—but he is opposed to any plan which clothes any sort

of conference with military power to execute its decisions. Only a court would he clothe with power—and that power he would allow to be exercised only *under law* as defined in its own code, and then not by military force but by public opinion operating in virtue of the covenant in which the nations had solemnly agreed to abide by the court's decisions and had forsworn recourse to war." (p. 129). "Any proposal in the name of peace, which makes any terms whatever with war, which compromises with or tolerates it in any form or guise, is foredoomed to futility." (p. xxx). On the constructive side Morrison says: "In the sense in which the term is used, there are no sanctions. The outlawry of war makes no provision for a sheriff. It has no place for an 'international police' to enforce obedience on the part of the sovereign nations. It wholly repudiates the appeal to war as a means of keeping the peace. It confesses without apology that it entrusts its whole enterprise of peace to the good faith of the nations who share in it." (p. 178).

It is clear from this statement that the outlawrist rests his whole program on the strength of the plighted word. The skeptic may not be inclined to place much confidence in sanctions of so spiritual a character. But the outlawrist believes it is adequate. Morrison points out with truth that all present international treaties rest on the plighted word and that they are remarkably well kept even though frequently entered into for selfish reasons. And when they are broken it is usually done as a war measure. It is pointed out that the League of Nations and the Locarno pacts are dependent on the plighted word of nations to use arms to punish the offender. Now if nations can be trusted to keep a pledge to go to war, why can they not be trusted to keep a pledge not to go to war? The case seems much stronger still when it is remembered that with war outlawed the chief cause for breaking of treaties will have been removed and so nations can be expected to live up to their agreements even more than at present.

The outlawrist points out further that with war outlawed, disputes will be of a different character and much less intense. "Abolish the institution of war and you will abolish most of the 'causes' of war." (p. 195). By way of illustration Morrison mentions the jealous care with which the United States guards the Panama Canal and all the strategic approaches thereto. The canal is a part of our war system and therefore must not be endangered by the encroachment of foreign power upon neighboring states. This is a matter of even more vital concern than the protection of American capital invested in such states. "The war system is so intertwined with the far-flung economic adventures of modern commerce that it invests business with an insolence which is largely the effect of its adventitious partnership with military might. The wars which are said to spring from eco-

nomic competition are really not the effect of natural economic conflict, but are induced artificially by the presence of military systems in association with competing economic interests. Left to itself, divorced from and no longer supported by the war system, the world's international commerce would wear a changed countenance." (pp. 196, 197). This may be slightly at variance with the more strictly economic interpretation of imperialism and international relations, but Morrison speaks with considerable truth when he says that our thinking is so absorbed with the war system that to comprehend a world with war outlawed and its implications removed requires a herculean intellectual effort.

Two of the outlawrist's reasons for having faith in the plighted word of the nations have been noted. First, with war outlawed the plighted word will mean much more than it does under the present system, and second, war itself is the chief cause of war. Now in the third place, with war outlawed and law put on the side of peace instead on the side of war, there will be released a moral force hitherto lacking in all peace efforts. Heretofore the pacifist has been regarded with suspicion as lacking in patriotism and loyalty to his country, while the militarist has been looked upon as the real patriot. The pacifist labors almost hopelessly under a tremendous social pressure. But with war outlawed, the pacifist, rather than the war dog, will be the supporter of the law. In fact, it will then be the duty of each nation to punish its militarists and breeders of international conflicts. Here are the sanctions of an international system with war outlawed. Accompanying the movement for the outlawry of war, there would naturally be a great amount of publicity. By this means public opinion would be lined up behind the movement and government officials countenancing war agitators would be regarded in much the same way as the prohibitionist voting public of the United States today regards the "wet" candidate for office. With law, public opinion, psychology, and social pressure on the side of peace the danger of international wars would be reduced to a minimum. *"For the essence and genius of the proposal to outlaw war consists in this, that it is a direct, frontal attack upon the institution of war by the united will of the nations without involving any nation in any political entanglement or military commitment whatsoever."* (p. 21).

Dr. Morrison writes in a clear easy style and his book has literary merit. The foreword is written by John Dewey, a strong supporter of the outlawry movement, and the book has received the commendation of Senator Borah, which vouches for its authenticity as an exposition of the outlawry program. Any criticism which might be offered, then, would naturally be directed to the outlawry program itself rather than to the book

which is an exposition of it. What are the merits of the outlawry proposal? Can war be outlawed? In such a case will this mean the end of wars?

It would perhaps be wisest not to make any predictions in the form of sweeping statements. The future can answer these questions better than the present. There are those who say that it is impossible to outlaw war. But this was once said of human slavery, and the prohibitionist was once laughed at for devoting his life to a hopeless cause. But in spite of these facts slavery has been outlawed in all the advanced nations of the world, and after a long period of agitation the United States has adopted the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. It is at least conceivable, therefore, if sufficient agitation is developed, that public opinion may also progress to the point where the advanced nations of the world will make a general treaty outlawing war. Since 1923 there has been before the United States senate a resolution that the United States declare its willingness to enter such a general agreement. Furthermore, the Secretary of State of the United States has recently placed before the leading nations of Europe an outlawry proposal which is at present the subject of serious discussion.

But the movement is still in the preliminary stage of development. No one should be blind to the fact that there are tremendous difficulties in the way of the outlawry program. Every nation has its jingoes who will do all in their power to keep the nation out of such a general agreement except with reservations which will make the treaty meaningless. There are numerous militarists who will do their best to maintain a militaristic spirit in every country. Nations still have special obligations to certain other nations with whom they have private agreements and understandings. These will serve as impediments to an unqualified general agreement renouncing war under any and all circumstances. Diplomats have been accustomed to such agreements for the guarantee of their security in the form of alliances and balances of power for so long a time that it will mean nothing short of a revolutionary procedure to adopt the outlawry program without reservations. The recent discussions between the department of state and a number of European foreign offices reveal the fact that European diplomats whose nations are involved in the Locarno pacts, for example, feel that any outlawry agreement entered into must grant reservations permitting the fulfilment of obligations required by these pacts, and the Locarno pacts are, of course, secured with military sanctions. The same problem comes up in the case of the League of Nations. For the nations to sign a general agreement outlawing war would mean the rejection of Article X in the League covenant. Since many statesmen believe as Wilson did that this is the very heart of the League, some-

what of a change in the prevailing attitude towards military sanctions, secret agreements, and balances of power will be necessary before a real outlawry agreement can be obtained.

Furthermore, it is possibly true that the institution of war is more deeply rooted in our social structure than was the institution of slavery or the saloon. Nationalism and patriotism have found their way into modern thought to such an extent that they are almost a religion to many people. While the abolitionist and the prohibitionist may have been regarded as fanatics and cranks the pacifist has the added disadvantage of being regarded as an enemy of his country whose government he seeks to subvert. And at a time when patriotic feeling is at a high pitch he is simply not tolerated. These are some of the difficulties standing in the way of the adoption of the outlawry program.

In addition it may be questioned whether the program would work in case it should be adopted, for here there are also some genuine difficulties. What would keep a nation from signing an outlawry treaty with mental reservations? Is there any reason to suppose that the plighted word of a nation would remain inviolate if it should prove expedient for some selfish reason to break the agreement? Furthermore, is Morrison's thesis that war is the chief cause of war, correct? Nations are engaged in keen economic competition. When this competition becomes very intense, would an outlawry of war treaty be able to function? Many students of international law will also find fault with Morrison's idea that a code of international rules sufficient for the adequate functioning of the proposed *real* world court could be worked out in a comparatively short time as was the constitution of the United States. They would insist on a long period of time for the building up of a large body of precedents before the codification of international law can be successfully attempted. Friends of the League of Nations will agree with this point of view and insist that the League must continue to function as it does at present. They feel that only through the operation of the League will the nations become sufficiently well acquainted with each other to sign a general treaty outlawing war. The negotiations and agreements reached through the League are regarded as fundamental to the successful operation of such a treaty and court as the outlawrists advocate.

It should be said in this connection, however, that most outlawrists, perhaps, would be willing to have the League function as an auxiliary to their program with its provision for military sanctions removed. Morrison does not regard the League as useless, but rather an agency through which much good may be accomplished. But he does regard it as inadequate to

prevent war. The military sanctions associated with it he considers dangerous.

One cannot escape the fact that the outlawry program faces some genuine obstacles and must answer a number of difficult questions. But obstacles are things to be overcome and mere difficulty does not prove a question unanswerable. One important point to remember is that the proposal itself is new; the fact that diplomats still lean very heavily on military alliances and balances of power for their security is not surprising. In fact, it would be surprising if they did not. But there is also a more hopeful side to the question. The fact that a new proposal of so radical a nature is receiving serious consideration is in itself encouraging. Since the organization of the Hague Court numerous international conferences have been held dealing with world problems. Since the World War most of the nations of the world have become members of the League of Nations and of the World Court. In recent years there have been held a number of conferences for the reduction of armaments. While these conferences have not always been successful and while perhaps none of the world organizations have gotten to the root of the war problem, yet the fact remains that the problem is receiving more serious attention today than ever before. And it should not be forgotten that the League of Nations and the World Court have succeeded in settling a number of important disputes which is a really hopeful sign.

Furthermore since the World War the organized peace movement outside of politics has been tremendously active. This movement functions in two ways: First, to create public opinion against war, and second, to direct the pressure of this public opinion upon the governments of the world. This policy is based upon the theory that governments will be very slow to plunge into war when public opinion is against it. The theory, in the mind if the writer, is a sound one. If public opinion in the nations of the world is consciously, actively, and aggressively opposed to war it is bound to have its effect. The problem, of course, is to create the public opinion. So far the militarists and jingoes have generally succeeded in creating public opinion favorable to war whenever war was wanted. Facts are distorted for release to the press and by one method and another the illusioned public is driven by the high pressure of the propaganda machine to the place where it shouts for war. The group that wanted war in 1914 was a small minority. But by effective organization and propaganda the public was won to its point of view.

Now if the lovers of peace were organized and equipped to get their side of the case before the public constantly and in times of a crisis, especially, there is no doubt that the influence of the militaristic propaganda

would be greatly diminished. In fact the organized peace movement is working along this very line and is gradually learning how to do some very effective work. Several cases should be noted. The National Council for Prevention of War with headquarters in Washington, D. C. is one of the leading if not the leading pacifist organization in the country. It serves as a clearing house and directing agency for thirty or more organizations in the country. Frederick J. Libby is the executive secretary and the leading spirit of the Council. Early in 1927 when the Mexican government was pressing its case against certain American capitalists who were unwilling to conform to Mexican laws regarding foreign capital invested in Mexico, a very critical situation was created. The American investors brought pressure to bear on the government at Washington and war with Mexico was imminent. The National Council sensed this situation and immediately raised $12,000 to direct public opinion against the war program. First, telegrams were sent to one thousand prominent people of the United States asking if they favored arbitration with Mexico. Over four hundred replied within a day. This fact, plus the names of the persons sending the replies, was mailed to 13,600 newspapers in the United States. Then a professor of international law at Columbia University was secured to prepare a technical statement that the issue with Mexico was arbitrable. This statement was then sent to 240 university professors of political science, international law, and history, asking if they approved it. Within forty-eight hours 101 replied in the affirmative and this fact was released to the press. Then the National Council appealed to 75,000 ministers and thousands of other influential persons asking that telegrams and letters be sent to the President and to the Senate protesting against a policy which would lead to war with Mexico. Many of the other peace organizations made similar appeals to thousands of other influential persons throughout the country. The result was a flood of letters and telegrams protesting against war and favoring arbitration. It was reported in Washington that for a long time there had not been such an outpouring of public opinion. And it had its effect. The Senate voted 79 to 0 in favor of arbitration. The peace organizations won the victory. A war with Mexico was prevented.

Later in 1927 another event furnished an opportunity for the organized peace movement to exert its influence. In December the Secretary of the Navy of the United States laid before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives a 5-year naval building program calling for 25 cruisers, 32 submarines, 9 destroyers, and 5 airplane carriers, a total of 71 ships, to be completed at a cost of $740,000,000. This program had every appearance of an attempt on the part of the United States to out-

step the British navy which would result in a naval race between these two countries, creating a situation similar to that which existed between Great Britain and Germany before 1914. To keep the program from becoming a law might mean the prevention of a war with Great Britain ten years before it took place. The National Council and other organizations immediately launched a campaign of opposition informing the public of the international dangers involved in the program and Washington was again flooded with protests, expressions of public opinion against the big navy program. So great was this protest that the Naval Affairs Committee cut the 71-ship program down to a bill calling for 16 ships, before ever bringing it to the floor of the House. The House passed it in its reduced form. When the bill went to the Senate for its consideration the peace organizations took action, again bringing pressure to bear upon the Senate with the purpose of defeating the bill. The Senate finally adjourned without bringing the bill to a vote. How much of this was due to the efforts of the peace organizations and how much to the crowded docket it is of course difficult to say.

The above are two illustrations of the manner in which public opinion can be created and directed toward the prevention of war. Many of the organizations who took part in these campaigns are also active supporters of the outlawry program, and are gradually creating a body of public opinion in favor of it. Similar work is being done in European countries as well. It is conceivable, therefore, that in the course of time this influence, if it continues to grow, will be strong enough to actually cause nations to enter into a general treaty outlawing war. If this is accomplished the law will then be on the side of peace rather than of war, and it ought to be easier than now to maintain a body of opinion against war.

At this point it would be well to pause and consider what is the relation between such activities as those described above and the evangelical message of Christianity. The evangelical Christian may be a sincere lover of peace, but he does not place the prevention of war nor any other social program above individual salvation in order of importance. With him sin is a reality and he does not believe that there can be a world of perfect peace as long as there is sin in it. Therefore his primary emphasis is on the importance of the salvation of the individual from sin. And since the giver of salvation is also the teacher of the principles of peace he may logically conclude that the individual who has experienced salvation should naturally live the principles of peace. With the evangelical non-resistant Christian, peace is a product of salvation, not a substitute for it. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that here is the point to which one must come for a philosophy of peace which reaches a genuinely sound basis. Compared

with this philosophy any program for the *mere* prevention or outlawry of war seems shallow, empty, and more or less futile. It is the shell with the kernel removed. Perfect peace can not come to the world as long as sin is present. Therefore the outlawrist and the preventionist of war, if they omit the message of the cross, (and only too often they do) have failed to include in their program that which is of greatest importance. The dynamic for a Christian program of peace is lacking. The believer in New Testament nonresistance who is opposed to war because it is morally wrong in itself and who refuses to have any part in it under any circumstances also feels that the program of the outlawrist, if it is based on a position which falls short of this, is lacking in dynamic for rendering the best service in the cause of peace. For it is true that most leaders in the outlawry movement would probably support a war in case it came. The non-resistant Christian feels that this attitude is unsatisfactory. And in the mind of the writer, both the evangelical Christian and the believer in New Testament non-resistance are correct.

The question deserves to be considered therefore, whether evangelical Christians and believers in New Testament non-resistance owe it to manifest a great interest in world peace as such. Since their own philosophy runs deeper than *mere* prevention or outlawry of war, should they not rather spend time in converting the unsaved and indoctrinating them in the New Testament peace principles? Only one-half of the people of Christian America profess Christianity. Is not the Christianization of the other half a task great enough to claim all the efforts of Christian people without devoting any time to the cause of peace? As long as one-half of our population is not Christian is it not quite useless to advocate peace among them since peace is an outgrowth of the Christian life? Is it not true, furthermore, that many contemporary peace advocates are interested in peace merely as a social program and minimize or even reject the need of individual salvation?

These are important questions, but in the mind of the writer their satisfactory answer would approve a warm support by evangelical non-resistant Christians of contemporary efforts at world peace such as the outlawry movement even in spite of the fact that these efforts do not meet with their own ideals in every respect. It is true that evangelization is the primary function of the Church. But this primary function has many auxiliaries. Education and caring for the physical needs of the poor, for example, are recognized as such. The auxiliaries must not be regarded as substitutes, but they are important nevertheless. The preaching of the gospel must be followed with instruction in the principles of Christian living. Peace is one of these principles and should therefore be taught. War, on the other hand, is a terrible blight on our civilization. It is not

only an evil in itself, but it is highly productive of other evils. War is a breeder of sin. It would seem a consistent policy, therefore, for non-resistant Christians to support any movement which can serve to prevent wars. For to prevent a war is to save many people from the road to perdition before they begin to travel thereon. Peace is not only one of the fruits of Christianity. It can also be an agent of evangelization, even when non-Christians help bring it about. For God is able to use even non-Christians to carry out his divine program.

The writer has assumed in the above paragraph that something can be done to prevent wars. Earlier in the discussion the methods employed by the peace organizations to prevent war were described and criticized. The question still remains whether, from the Christian point of view, such efforts are actually promising of results. Or, since peace is an outgrowth of conversion, is it to be assumed that nothing can be done to prevent wars as long as sin remains in the world? To be blindly optimistic about preventing wars in a sinful world would be absurd, indeed. But it would seem, on the other hand, that utter pessimism is at least unwarranted. It is the belief of the writer that sin and strife will continue until the Lord returns. But war, especially general world wars, should hardly be regarded as necessary manifestations of sin and strife. Regeneration alone is a cure for sin, but sin has a thousand forms and manifestations. And it is not a hopeless task to think of eliminating some of the forms. Man does seem to have a combative nature. But in the mind of the writer Dr. Morrison is correct when he points out that abstinence from organized warfare is not necessarily contrary to this combative nature. Organized warfare is not necessarily identical with strife and conflict. It is only one of the forms, therefore its elimination should be possible. And because of the greatness of the evil it would seem that no effort should be spared by peace loving people to eliminate it.

The reader should be cautioned, however, not to conclude, since the outlawry of war is held up as a possibility, that it will come as a mere matter of course. The grim possibility remains on the other hand that it may never come. The writer hopes it will. But if it does it will be because millions of peace-loving people in all of the nations under the providence of God consciously, and aggressively bring it about. And if they bring it about they will do it not by merely advocating and wishing for the outlawry of war, but by using their influence at every turn, doing here a little and there a little to bring the nations through specific crises without a break and to prevent specific wars that threaten. And then eventually if the task is well done perhaps war will be outlawed. Even then the law may be broken, but what laws are not? On the other hand the law may

be often obeyed. Most laws are. The outlawry of war, if accomplished, may work with fifty per cent of efficiency, perhaps more, perhaps less. But even if less, it will be worthwhile.

The outlawry of war will not bring perfect peace. It will not bring in the millennium. This can come only when sin is eradicated. But the outlawry of war can remove one of the greatest scourges of contemporary civilization. Therefore it deserves support. Doctors of medicine do not have perfect cures for disease. They cannot prevent the eventual decay of the human body. The eradication of disease and decay can come only as a direct act of God. But in the face of this great fact men have tremendous confidence in doctors of medicine. The relief of suffering, even though temporary and often inefficient, is a blessing to society. Hence men believe in medical effort. Christian people support it and it is right that they should. War is a social ill as great as any bodily ill. Why not give the outlawrist of war as much support as the doctor of medicine?

In connection with the fact that peace should be regarded as a fruit of the Christian life following conversion it should not be forgotten that human beings, even after experiencing salvation, often fail miserably in living the principles of Christianity. Because of this fact there is need for much teaching in Christian ethics. Nowhere is there a better example of this than in the case of the war question. The great mass of Christian people supported the World War. Thousands of ministers used their pulpits as recruiting stations and deliberately pushed the young men of their congregations into the horrible maelstrom instead of lifting up before them the Prince of Peace and recruiting them for the cause of peace. If the Christian people of the world had definitely withheld their support the World War would probably not have been possible. But instead of withholding their support they often furnished the very dynamic which kept the war machine in motion. What is said here holds true for the evangelical and the modernist groups alike. Both were equally guilty. It would seem in the light of this great fact, therefore, that conversion alone is not enough for prevention of wars. Conscious effort is needed to create sentiment against war even among Christian people, let alone the fifty per cent who are not Christian. There is plenty for the peace movement to do.

But the question still remains whether the evangelical, non-resistant Christian can consistently support a program for the outlawry or the prevention of war when many of its advocates minimize or even reject the need of individual salvation. Here again it would seem that the answer must be in the affirmative. This does not mean, however, that he will support it with altogether the same motives. The non-resistant Christian will always teach peace from the New Testament point of view, but if

someone else is able to create sentiment in favor of peace why should he not welcome it even if the approach is different? This is the attitude which Mennonites take on other questions of a similar nature. The Mennonite Church and the Near East Relief, for example, are far apart in their religious beliefs. Yet when the suffering caused by the World War furnished an opportunity for the Mennonite Church to co-operate with this organization the Church did so. In those days the Mennonites gave thousands of dollars to the Near East Relief to relieve part of the suffering caused by a terrible war. And the Near East Relief is no nearer the Mennonite point of view than are the contemporary peace organizations. But Mennonites co-operated in this case because co-operation made possible more effective service. It was done, moreover, without compromising the Mennonite position on Christianity and social service. It would seem a consistent policy, therefore, for the Mennonite Church to take a sympathetic attitude toward any movement which operates for the prevention or outlawry of war, and to encourage all efforts in that direction.

This statement must not be interpreted, however, as an uncritical wholesale endorsement of every movement that happens to work for peace. The writer is fully aware that an evangelical church cannot afford to join hands with a modernistic society and work on a common religious program. But this is something altogether different from lending encouragement to a movement, with which one may not be in accord religiously, but which is working on a specific worthy social project.

In this connection it would appear to the writer that there are two considerations which evangelical Christians might well take note of. First, it is essential that a fair and an intelligent attitude be taken toward all groups interested in worthy causes. Intelligence is essential for a real understanding of any question. No one is in a position to criticize a movement until he has an adequate understanding of it. Only when there is a real understanding of a proposition is it possible to discriminate between the truth and the error which it contains. This must be done sincerely and honestly. Credit must be given where credit is due; disapproval may be given where disapproval is due, but it must be done with charity. No more is to be gained by a wholesale disapproval of a movement which may have its weaknesses as well as its good features than by an uncritical and wholesale approval. One is as bad as the other.

Second, evangelical Christians would do well to lend their encouragement to all specific projects with worthy ethical and humanitarian objectives. It is a lamentable fact that at times not even a neutral position is taken, but rather one of genuine hostility. Such an attitude can bring only reproach to the cause of evangelical Christianity. It is much to be

regretted that some groups of evangelical Christians are extremely hostile to all forms of pacifism, including even New Testament non-resistance. For the non-Christian with high ethical standards such a position is hard to understand and it tends to keep him out of the kingdom rather than to bring him in. Fortunately not all evangelical Christians take such an attitude toward ethical and social problems, but such is the case frequently enough that, in the minds of some, orthodoxy has been associated with an extreme lack of social vision and ethical conscience. The critic of orthodoxy is unfair when he makes this generalization and yet there are those among the orthodox who admit they have little interest in social and humanitarian endeavor. Would not evangelical Christianity do well to learn a lesson from a William Ewart Gladstone or a William Jennings Bryan? Both of these great men stood high in the ranks of orthodox Christianity. Each has left to perpetuate his memory a written defense of the Christian religion. From the pen of Gladstone we have *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture,* and from Bryan, *In His Image.* Both Gladstone and Bryan were staunch defenders of the Christian faith; yet both were men of social vision. Bryan was a champion of the rights of the oppressed groups of society and an active opponent of the liquor traffic. Gladstone labored hard and long for the amelioration of the oppressed Irish nation. Today Catholic Ireland remembers this Anglican prime minister of Great Britain with gratitude for his unselfish ministry of friendship and mercy. Gladstone and Bryan devoted their energies to humanitarian effort, but not in substitution for their religion. Their humanitarian efforts were a worthy and noble expression of a deeply religious life.

If this discussion has wandered somewhat far from the original question it has done so only to secure material with which to illustrate an important point. There is a close relation between the Christian religion and Christian ethics. To separate the two is almost as great an error as to reject them both together. Peace among men is a great ethical principle of the Christian religion. The Christian knows that when sin is no longer present perfect peace will come as a matter of course. But how to do the most effective work for peace in the meantime is a great and important question. The outlawrist offers one method. His program has limitations, of course. But it is a program with great possibilities and deserves the support of Christian people.

The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1928

A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty

John Horsch

(Continued)

The Schools of the Brethren

The schools of the Brethren were of high quality. A school was established soon after the organization of the first congregation.[39] From the beginning school attendance was compulsory. The Hutterian schools had a good reputation and at times were attended by non-Hutterians. Special schools were provided for those who were past school age when they united with the brotherhood. At a time when education all over Europe was in a pitiable condition the number of illiterates among the Hutterians was very small. This was especially notable in Moravia where the congregations were located in the midst of a people the great majority of whom had never been inside a school.

In each Hutterian community (household) there were usually two schools, the so-called small school and the large school. The first was a sort of kindergarten for children from two to six years of age. Here the children were throughout the day under the care and supervision of a school-mother or school-mistress. At the age of six the children were put into the large school, which was under the control of a male teacher. The writer of the Hutterian Confession (*Rechenschaft*) has the following to say about these schools. [39a]

> Sisters who have been considered qualified are appointed for the small school by the church. It is their duty to care for the children, and as soon as they can learn to talk, to lay the word of the testimony of God into their mouths. They teach them concerning prayer and whatever is within the children's grasp. In this school the children are kept until they are able to learn to read and write, at about five or six years. As soon as they have reached this point, they are given over to the schoolmaster who teaches them reading and writing, and in addition, leads them on further and further in the knowledge of God so that they learn to know and do the will of God. So we teach our children from little up to seek not the temporal but the eternal things.

In 1568 the head pastor, Peter Walpot (Scherer), gave an address to the assembled schoolmasters of the brotherhood at Niemschitz near

Auspitz. In 1578 a book on pedagogy called *Schulordnung* was written. Both have been preserved. Important extracts from them are given below.[40]

Dear brethren, we thought it good to call you together to speak to you concerning the work which is assigned to you in the schools, in order that you may be more diligent in your care of the children which are committed unto us and you by the Lord, and that you teach them to honor and fear God so that they may be brought up in the Lord and receive only the best from youth up.

The schoolmasters are entrusted with the children by the Lord and the Brotherhood; therefore they should teach them to honor and fear God, and do the very best for them.

Great care and discrimination is necessary in the training of children. Often a child can be trained and taught with kind words while severity would be all in vain. Another may be won with rewards, while strictness may be necessary to teach and train the third. Therefore the training of the children should be carried on in the fear of the Lord.

But the little ones who have just come to school for the first time need sympathy. Their will should not be broken all at once because of the bad effects which might follow.

One should be careful to teach the children to refrain from things which lead to penalties, and this is not accomplished by threats of severe punishment.

The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses shall see to it that the children do not hear quarreling, disunity and loud talking. They shall incite them to gentleness and self-control by means of the example of a peaceful, friendly, long-suffering, disciplined life and quiet demeanor, avoiding all unbecoming, unnecessary talk so that the children will have no occasion for gossip.

Neither a brother or a sister shall be permitted in discipline of either small or large children to be harsh, rude, rash, or angry or to use blows or injury or to strike the child on the head or mouth.

Sisters who are in charge of the kindergarten shall take care that the old nature does not get the upper hand with them.[41] They shall not be too severe inasmuch as we see that the Lord also does not always deal with us according to our deserts but according to grace.

When children are brought to school, they shall be carefully examined. If there is evidence of some contagious disease they shall be segregated at once in sleeping, drinking, and especially in washing.

The schoolmasters shall also take care, when they have been examining the bad mouths and have put their fingers into bad mouths,

never to put the unwashed finger into another healthy mouth and thereby make it impure, but shall always first wash the finger with a clean cloth and water.

The sisters shall take especial care to keep the little children clean. They shall not carry the hot water into the rooms so that none may be burnt. The bathing shall not be done with too hot water since that would be harmful.

The sister who watches at night shall take good care of the light and shall often make the rounds to see that the children are well-covered.

None of the school sisters shall serve the Lord's needy ones with ill will, complaining, or impatience, for in such service there would be no blessing, and the children would be bound to suffer from such ill temper and from unreasonable disciplinary measures. For where there is ill will, unwise words are bound to come, such as, "You naughty children, you are a continuous bother," and similar fits of temper which must grieve any one who would witness it and be displeasing to the Lord who sees all and who in his own time will call such conduct to judgment. Therefore each one should maintain an attitude of cheerfulness and good will and in so doing win the approval of the Lord.

In short, let each one of the school sisters so conduct herself with the children at all times as though they were her own, whether in giving food and drink, in lifting up and setting down, in carrying and leading about, yea, in wiping and washing according to need, so that each one will be able to answer before God and may have a good conscience in all blamelessness before the brotherhood and those that are without.

There is no record of any institution of secondary education existing in the Hutterian communities, yet it is not impossible that there was among them some such institution for the training of teachers. A number of persons of not inconsiderable educational attainments, especially Catholic priests, united with them. Christoph Andreas Fischer says, they disregarded all higher schools and all learned men.[42] Their interests were overwhelmingly religious, and in religious matters the leading scholars were, in their opinion, unenlightened. For not only did "the consent of scholarship" mean the rejection of the truth which the Brethren had accepted from heart conviction and in which they found the greatest satisfaction, but the crowning proof that the scholars were groping in Egyptian darkness was found in the fact that they were practically a unit in defending the view that such people as the Brethren should be exterminated by fire and sword.

The Physicians of the Brethren

The physicians of the Brethren were skilful and far-famed. Their best-known physician was George Zobel who was repeatedly summoned to the imperial court at Prague and whose skill was put to the test by the Emperor personally.

> In the year 1581 (says a chronicler of the Brethren), the emperor summoned George Zobel of our Brotherhood to Prague. For a long time the emperor had lain ill of a dangerous sickness and had not been able to make any improvement although he had been treated by many famous physicians from Italy, Spain, and other lands. He took the treatment advised by George Zobel, and by the help and blessing of God completely recovered. After our physician, George Zobel, had been with him six months the emperor sent him home again with an honorable dismissal.[43]

In the year 1599 George Zobel was called into counsel by the imperial authorities in connection with an epidemic which was at that time raging in Bohemia.[44]

Christoph Andreas Fischer, on the contrary, had only scorn for the Hutterian physicians. He says:

> Not only the common man, but even the Lords, when they are in need of any sort of treatment, run to them as though they were the one who had gobbled up the whole art of medicine. How can the unskilled Anabaptists accomplish such things. There is more to dancing than wearing red slippers. They have already caused the death of many of my parishioners who put their lives into their hands.[45]

Concerning the nurses of the Brethren, Fischer says,

> God have mercy, things have gone too far; almost all the noble ladies have to have only Anabaptist women for their midwives, wet-nurses and child-nurses, as though they alone were sufficiently experienced in such things, and yet the children will receive from these nurses nothing but poison and contempt for the Christian faith. No longer do I wonder that some of the Lords have Anabaptist stomachs, since they have nursed with them and grown up with them, for kind follows kind.[46]

II.

PERSECUTION AND SUPPRESSION OF THE CHURCH IN MORAVIA. THE BROTHERHOOD IN HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA, 1593-1662.

In the year 1593 there began a long war between the Turks and

Austria. It was for the Hutterians a time of severe oppression. The chronicler reports as follows:

> From the year 1593 on the Brotherhood in Moravia had few quiet days and peaceful times, but had to endure much tribulation and suffering especially at the hands of the soldiers. The latter for the most part quartered themselves in our houses, often staying a long time, so that their consumption of food and drink caused a great property loss to the Brotherhood. This lasted many years in succession and the longer it lasted the worse it became.
>
> Likewise, several lords and noblemen on whose territory they lived, dealt with them in unmerciful tyranny, burdened them with unbearable taxes, withheld wages from those who had worked for them on their large estates, and finally discharged them and drove them off with empty hands by force, robbing them of all their movable and immovable goods.[47]

This severe tribulation came upon the Brethren although the reigning ruler of Moravia, Friedrich von Zierotin, was their special friend and patron and came to their aid in every possible way. Concerning him the chronicler of the Brethren at that time writes as follows:

> I do not consider it out of place to report here how Lord Friedrich von Zierotin, Lord of Selowitz, at that time governor of Moravia, protected the pious for a long time having learned to esteem them through thorough acquaintance of them. He permitted many to live on his estates, and protected them as a father does his children. Not in vain did the Brotherhood seek refuge with him in times of danger. But finally in the year 1598, he too came to the end of life when God the Almighty summoned him home from this vale of sorrow. How the Lord will requite him for all the kindness he manifested toward the pious remains in God's own hands. May he grant him the eternal heavenly kingdom.[48]

A time of great tribulation broke in on the congregations in the twelfth year of this war (1605) as a result of the invasion of the Turks and Tartars and their allies, the Hungarians. Not less than sixteen households were destroyed within three months; eighty-one members of the Brotherhood were murdered and two hundred forty were carried off to slavery in Turkey.

At this time and in the later wars, the Hutterian Brethren stood true to their principle of non-resistance throughout. The first war-tax was laid

upon them, as upon all other subjects, before the beginning of the war with the Turks, namely in 1579. Since the Brethren could not pay this for conscience sake, the Lords confiscated their oxen, cattle or sheep to the extent of the war taxes. "We suffer the spoiling of our goods (Heb. 10:34), writes the chronicler, "rather than give what would be a stain, spot or burden on our consciences." The confiscation of property for this purpose was repeated in 1584 and 1589; and in the war time from 1596 on the war tax was collected in this way yearly.

The Tribulations of the Brotherhood in the First Years of the Thirty Years' War

In the year 1618 a disastrous religious war which is known as the "Thirty Years' War", broke out as a result of the rebellion of the Bohemian people against their Catholic King Ferdinand. It was a devastating struggle between the state church Protestant states and the Roman Catholic states. The Moravian government made an alliance with Bohemia and expelled the Jesuits. In the following year (1619) an army of the Catholic King Ferdinand under General Tampier invaded Moravia to punish it for its secession from the House of Hapsburg. This army completely destroyed, within two months, no less than twelve of the forty remaining Hutterian households in Moravia, and plundered and devastated seventeen others. Forty members of the households were murdered.

In the years 1620 and 1621 the congregations endured untold suffering because of the invading armies, especially after the almost total destruction of the Protestant Army in the battle of White Mountain near Prague. This event led the Roman Catholic party to determine on the suppression of all other churches. Imperial armies from various provinces of the empire ranged through the unhappy land. The Hutterian households suffered more than the remaining population of Moravia from the unrestrained plundering and murder of the soldiers. Since the heads of the ruling church demanded the forcible suppression of the Anabaptists, the soldiers did not doubt in the least that it was right and proper, yea, a work pleasing to God to persecute and kill them.

Furthermore Moravia was on the whole a poor country. The peasants lived for the most part in small houses or huts, while many of the Hutterian communities inhabited large dwellings. The plundering soldiers expected to find in their houses, money and valuables, which were, however, not usually to be found. Torture and pain of all sorts was used to force the people to surrender their supposed treasures. All this seemed to the soldiers to be a mild punishment for people who deserved death according to the teaching of their church. Many were murdered. Many of the

brotherhood houses were totally destroyed; others were repeatedly plundered. At times not only bedding was taken but even the clothing was torn from the backs of the brethren. In one night, in the year 1620, 56 people were murdered in the household at Pribitz by a Polish army, and sixty others wounded, of whom many soon died of their wounds. In the wake of the war came devastating plagues. According to the reckoning of the contemporary chronicler the brotherhood in 1621 alone lost one-third of its members by death.

The chronicler of the Brethren describes the terrible cruelty of the armies as follows:

> It was stated above that the year 1621 began with much tribulation. The robbing, plundering, and burning of houses carried on by the soldiers continued throughout the following year. Altogether it was a very fearsome, miserable and evil time. It is impossible to write or tell of all the great and inhuman cruelties which came upon us and others in this godless, accursed and devilish war at the hands of the Spanish, Walloons, Polish, and German imperial forces; I cannot tell what awful devilish things were perpetrated on many good, pious and honorable sisters who had loved sobriety and purity from their youth, yea, on children, both boys and girls. Women with child and mothers on their deathbed as well as virgins were shamelessly attacked. The men were burned with glowing iron and red-hot pans; their feet were held in the fire until the toes were burned off; wounds were cut into which powder was poured and then set afire; fingers and ears were cut off, eyes forced out by inhuman torture; men were hung up by the neck like thieves; all sorts of such brutality and unheard of godlessness were committed, half the shame of which is not to be written. Such things were openly practised by the imperial soldiery who claimed to be the best of Christions. It would be impossible for one who had not seen and experienced it himself to believe that a human being could so conduct himself as did these demon-possessed people. It would have been no wonder had the heavens turned pale, the earth shaken and all the elements trembled; yea, one would suppose that the devil himself would have been more fearful of the might, power, glory and majesty of God than these shameless, insolent men. May God lead them to realize it, to whom and whose righteous judgment we commit everything.[49]

Upon the news of the approach of the great imperial army in the late autumn of 1620, several congregations took flight. The more remote households gave them refuge for a time. Later many escaped over the Hun-

garian border to Szobotiste (Sabatisch) where in the small household at this place for a time more than 3,000 refugees were harbored. In January, 1621, many proceeded further over the Hungarian mountains with great difficulty and found protection in Schaechtitz, Weidowitz, and other localities where the lords were favorable to them. As a consequence of the severe trials through which they passed several hundred of those who fled over the mountains soon fell victim to epidemic diseases.

An Involuntary Colonization

The regent of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, had learned to know and highly esteem the Brethren in Hungary. He decided to establish a colony on his estate at Alwintz in Transylvania. The chronicler reports the strange procedure of this colonization as follows:

> When therefore, as aforesaid, a portion of the people in dire need had to flee across the Hungarian mountains to seek an asylum and place of abode, it came about that after about ten weeks, on April 2, 1621, several Transylvanian commissioners came to them at Schaechtitz while others went to Weidowitz. They carried an open letter containing a mandate and brought with them a large number of horsemen and many wagons. They showed them by the letter as well as by word of mouth, the intention and purpose of their ruler, the prince Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, and demanded that they should make preparations to go with them to Transylvania. In that country they would be provided with everything necessary to start a colony. "In this letter" they said, "are contained eight articles in which our gracious lord and master, now king in Transylvania under the Hungarian crown, promises that you shall not be made serfs but shall be and remain a free people and be recognized as such. You will be protected by the princely and national authorities that at all times you may freely exercise your religion and conduct your business to your own advantage and according to your own pleasure."
>
> When the brethren learned the contents of the eight articles of the letter and heard the friendly words, the princely commissioners still noticed in them a disinclination to go. So they seized forcibly old and young, eighty-four souls, and eight days later another one hundred and one, among them Brother Franz Walter, a minister, and led them away. Finally they came to Alwintz in Transylvania where the prince's wife, Susanna Carolina, received them kindly, for which the pious were very glad and did not know how to thank God sufficiently for it. Since there was no other dwelling, they had to live for a time in the horse-stables of the prince.

> On March 17, 1622, the authorities came to Alwintz, that is, the Princess Susanna Carolina came. She summoned the oldest brethren and gave them permission to build a house for their dwelling. This permission the brethren accepted gratefully and began to build the house in the same year and to organize the brotherhood according to the order which prevailed in Moravia in the Brotherhood there.

This colonization turned out later to be one of the most important events in the history of the Hutterian Brethren. When in the second half of the eighteenth century the congregations in Hungary were totally destroyed by the Jesuits with the support of the government, the precious treasure of the faith of the fathers was maintained and saved by a number of members of the congregation in Alwintz, as they fled to Wallachia (Roumania) together with a larger number of Lutheran exiles from Carinthia who had accepted the Hutterian confession. "Without doubt," says the chronicler, "God so ordained that one little spark remained of the greatly blessed and shining church in Moravia."

Further History of the Brethren, Their Expulsion From Moravia

In the year 1620, according to the "old, praiseworthy custom," a number of brethren were again sent out as messengers of the gospel to various parts of Germany. "At this," writes the chronicler, "many marveled that they, as a non-resistant people, could travel so safely, in great danger, when almost no one else, of high or low degree, could do so."[50]

Again the chronicler writes:

> The Lord in heaven gave so much grace and blessing that this year, although the country was full of soldiery everywhere and almost no one could travel in safety, the blessed memorial feast of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [communion] could be held in ten places with special joy and thanksgiving to God. On account of the war-time dangers this had not been possible in the year before. Each one was permitted to return home in peace. The Lord alone be thanked for this.[51]

A sworn enemy of the Brethren, the Bishop of Olmuetz, Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, a son of Adam von Dietrichstein and as such inheritor of the principality of Nikolsburg, was appointed governor of Moravia after the great victory of the imperial party in 1620. By open deception he succeeded in getting possession of the money which had been laid away in the Hutterian communities during the times of peace as a protection against hard times. He probably had the opinion that deceit is

lawful when used against such folk. The Larger Chronicle says concerning this:

> In the year 1621 a very sad, painful and grievious affair took place in connection with Brother Rudolph Hirtzel, who had shortly before been entrusted with the oversight of the entire brotherhood. It happened in this fashion:
>
> On June 2 of this year, Cardinal von Dietrichstein had Brother Rudolph taken deceitfully by military power together with two other brethren in the name of the imperial majesty from Neumuehl to the castle at Nikolsburg.
>
> After they had been imprisoned for several weeks, the cardinal and others demanded of Rudolph, since he was the head pastor, that he should reveal the hiding place of the money of the Brotherhood. They accompanied this demand with terrible threats: if he would not do this voluntarily they would deal cruelly with him and the rest of the elders, would destroy the entire Brotherhood root and branch, and would begin the next day at Nikolsburg and Neumuehl. If, however, he should reveal the location of the money, the emperor would take us into his protection and endow us with freedom and privileges.
>
> They also said that the imperial authorities did not in the least desire to confiscate the money, but only desired to share information about it, where it was, how much, and in what form, and wished only to take it for safekeeping so that it should not fall into the hands of the rebels and be used by them to strengthen their war against the emperor.[53] By such and similar talk they finally persuaded Rudolph Hirtzel to reveal, in the supposed interest of the safety of the Brotherhood, the hiding place of the product of the hard and bitter sweat of many pious folk. This money, or as much of it as he could find, the Cardinal immediately seized. So the Brotherhood lost most of its hard-earned money. Rudolph Hirtzel was according to the judgment of the entire brotherhood excommunicated at Pausram. However, he confessed his guilt humbly and sought repentance with tears, which he could not attain however, but died at Goeding April 27 of the next year.

In the summer of the year 1622 the Cardinal von Dietrichstein went to Vienna and received from Emperor Ferdinand complete power and authority to expel the Hutterian Brotherhood from Moravia. Two days after his return he had his officials lock and seal all the rooms, granaries, cellars, etc. in the three households in the principality of Nikolsburg, namely Nikolsburg, Tracht, and Nembschitz. The people were driven

out and the buildings guarded by soldiers. Then an imperial document of the following content was read to the assembled people:

> They and all their fellow-believers would no longer be tolerated, either in Moravia or in any lands over which the imperial authority extended. They would find no safety in Transylvania. They would surely perish, for the emperor's arm was long. But those who would turn away from their error and let themselves be instructed by the priests and Jesuits, the same should remain in the households, have the use of the property and be protected and loved by the emperor and the cardinal in the same way as the remaining subjects of the land.[54]

Thereupon all were asked personally whether they would obey this command. There were at these three places 230 persons, young and old, "who were frightened by the tribulation and suffering of Christ," and who fell away from their faith. The remainder declared that they wished to remain true to their faith and conviction, "whether it meant life or death."

> Several brethren (says the chronicler), especially Jacob Breitensteiner, overseer at Tracht, told the Cardinal (who himself did his best to make him yield) before many witnesses to his face: "I do not believe that I could be saved in the papal faith that has burned our houses, cut down our men and shamed our wives and daughters. Such are good Christians with you, even though they behave worse than the Turks; but pious people, who support themselves by the work of their hands and do no human being any harm, they have to forsake the land." And with such words he struck the Cardinal dumb so that he was utterly unable to make answer.
>
> The Brethren at these three places were driven from their houses without any of their goods and property. They were not permitted to take even as much as each could carry, and no tools at all. All the cattle and everything that was in the fields and vineyards had to stay behind. They even took and stripped brethren and sisters who had been in the service of the Cardinal at Wisternitz, seeking for money in their clothes and shoe-soles. From the carpenter they took his hammer, and from the tailor his scissors, and cast them out with empty hands. In such a manner were we requited for the faithful services which we had rendered the Cardinal and his predecessors with greatest diligence for many years.
>
> The elders wrote the Cardinal and begged humbly that, if they had to leave the land, he should at least permit them to take with them their cattle and moveable goods, the sweat of their brows, and that he

should not sin against the pious by taking their goods (which the Lord would not permit to go unpunished). Further they begged him repeatedly, both orally and in writing, (since exile from Moravia was hanging over us and since he himself had declared that our persecution and fate depended on him alone and outside of him there would be no help) that he would extend to us such sympathy as rulers may have for their subjects, and grant us refuge for the winter, at least for the aged and sickly who would be gathered together at two or three places in Moravia and that he would take into account the more than eighty years that we have lived in Moravia and served many lords faithfully and honorably.[55]

To this petition the Cardinal answered laughingly and with mocking words that he would hand us a printed reply. Thereupon he sent us a printed mandate, which he issued against us in the Emperor's name on the 28th of September, 1622, demanding that all men and women who call themselves Hutterians must vacate Moravia within four weeks from the date of this mandate on penalty of death, and never put foot on the land again. Those who would turn away from their error into the right way should be shown every help, aid, assistance and support."

The petitions were altogether without success. In the same way as described concerning the above named three places, the Brethren were driven from the households at Austerlitz, Daemorschitz, Aleckowitz, Maskowitz, Gostel, and Altemarkt. These communities were in regions where the lords were under arrest because of the rebellion. The Brethren also had to leave all the other colonies, altogether 24 households. As said above, in many of these places the houses had been burned down. Everywhere they had to leave with empty hands and flee the country at the beginning of the cold season, abandoning even the necessary food. Of wheat and rye alone they left 24,000 metzen behind. (a metze equals about one bushel.) At this very time famine conditions obtained in consequence of the war. Food was extraordinarily high in price. A metze of wheat was worth about ten thaler.

The Brethren in Hungary

The Brotherhood fled to Hungary where they were gladly received by several lords. They had already established households in this land as early as 1546 at Szobotiste (near the Moravian border), then in 1588 at Lewar in the comitat of Pressburg. New colonies were established in Kesselsdorf, Farkenschin, St. Johann and other places. Most of the people who had been in the households at Maskowitz and Aleckowitz in Moravia

were sent to Alwintz in Transylvania. In winter time, suffering untold hardships and trials, about 700 persons under the leadership of three ministers made the long journey to Alwintz. Upon their arrival there severe epidemics broke out among them, as a result of which many died. A small group went to Croatia upon invitation of a nobleman there.

During this flight in the cold season of the year and also later, the congregations suffered exceedingly since there was a lack not only of food but also of clothing, bedding, and housing. The contemporary chronicler of the Brethren wrote concerning this persecution as follows:

> But the Lord let this tribulation come upon his children as a special test and refining fire so that those faithful should become manifest. For many who were of superficial spirit and insincere heart did not stand the test. Although they had left Moravia (like the children of Israel fled from Egypt), when the suffering, tribulation, deprivation, and hunger, cold, and nakedness came upon them, many looked back to Egypt where they had had bread to the full, and a good share of them fell back. Many of them did not even leave Moravia but forsook the Brethren there, so that the number of the pious was greatly reduced. And then after this the Lord came with the discipline of the pestilence and took many of them to himself in a short time.[56]

The Brethren were permitted to go to Hungary against the Emperor's will. At the urgent request of the Cardinal von Dietrichstein the emperor, in December, 1622, demanded that the Hungarian lords refuse toleration to the Anabaptists. But the lords were not willing to accede to this request without the consent of the Landtag.

In the months of October and November, 1623, the Brotherhood in Hungary suffered much from the armies which passed through. A number of households and houses where some of the brethren lived were destroyed by fire and others were plundered. At the request of several Moravian lords, a small number of the Brethren returned to Moravia to re-enter their service, since they were promised freedom of religion and protection. Several smaller groups followed them on account of the famine in Hungary. Thereupon the Cardinal von Dietrichstein issued a strict decree in the name of the Emperor in March, 1624,

> That within fourteen days from date all who are of the Hutterian persuasion must leave Moravia on pain of death. Should, after the expiration of this time, any one of them be found, he will be put to death without further formality, by being hanged to the closest tree or burned by fire.[57]

The Brethren were to be hunted down and killed like wild animals. Turning to the Roman Catholic Church was the only salvation from exile and death. The Brethren, who remained true to their convictions, fled back to Hungary, but through this persecution, says the chronicler, "there

> was again a falling away and many, who loved their belly and the lust of the world more than God and his righteousness, forsook their faith and the Brotherhood rather than to return to Hungary. But those who were of a pious and sincere heart endured it all patiently and praised God that they could still find a place to serve him.

A number of Moravian nobles nevertheless retained some of the Brethren in their service "on account of their industry, faithfulness and trustworthiness." In the following year the Cardinal again issued a severe edict in Austria and Moravia against the Anabaptists and on December 17, 1628 he warned all the lords who still had Hutterians in their service of the consequences and threatened them with the imperial disfavor and punishment. Thereupon all the Brethren were released by the lords and returned to Hungary.

In the autumn of 1626 the imperial general Wallenstein marched through Hungary with a great army. Almost the entire Brotherhood took to flight. For four months they were absent from their homes, suffering much through cold and hunger. Their houses were plundered but not destroyed. The total number of members of the Hutterian Brotherhood was reduced in this long period of persecution, since 1619, to less than 1,000.[58]

For about two decades following this the Brotherhood was almost altogether free from robbery and plunder by armies. The chronicler tells of a great famine in the years 1638 and 1639:

> The need was so great that there were those who mixed white clay with the flour, and baked bread of this. But the Lord, the faithful God, to whom be eternal praise, blessed his church through the faithful elders so that the pious suffered no want nor hunger, but were even able to help many others who were in need, so much so that in some households as many as fifty and sixty and even eighty adults and children are daily given bread.[59]

In the year 1645 most of the houses of the Brethren were plundered by the armies. Then came a devastating plague which carried away many. "Again the Brotherhood came into great poverty," says the chronicler.

For a quarter of a century the Hutterian Brotherhood had gone through the most discouraging experiences. Yet to all appearances the condition of their colonies was, before the year 1645, such that persons

who visited them receive a decidedly favorable impression. Evidence for this is found in the fact that in 1645 Prince Rakoczy compelled them to establish a household on his estate at Bodok, Comitat of Zemplin, in Upper Hungary. The chronicler gives the following account of this colonization:

> Prince Rakoczy had made urgent requests that a colony be established at Bodok. The project was finally carried out against the wishes of the elders who opposed it in every possible way. They were given to understand by the prince that they had the option of complying with his demand of their own free will, or through the power which he had at his disposal. Now, in order to prevent great loss to the entire Brotherhood through the severe measures that were threatening, it was decided that the colony of Tschaeskowitz move to Bodok. Subsequently the prince sent wagons and men in quantities sufficient to transport them. It was with great regret and many tears that they undertook the far journey.[60] But the colony at Bodok did not prosper and had to drag out a miserable existence. For in the years 1650 to 1652 there came a great famine. The households in other parts of Hungary and in Alwintz had to give them such heavy support that all together became poor. After some years the greater part of those in Bodok died of the pestilence. Of those who were left after 1668, a part moved to Lewar and a part to Alwintz in Transylvania.[61]

An attempt was made in the year 1604 to establish a household in Elbing, West Prussia.[62]

In the year 1654 a household was established in the city of Mannheim on the Rhine with the permission of the Elector of the Palatinate.[63] This household was granted special privileges of release from military service, etc.[64]

NOTES

39. One of the first teachers of the Hutterian Brethren was the former priest Jeronymus Kaels who suffered martyrdom in 1536 in Vienna. He is mentioned in the chronicles as a teacher as early as 1533. A touching letter of farewell to his wife, written shortly before his execution, is found in *Geschicht-Buch*, p. 121,

39a. *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehre und Glaubens.* Reprint of 1902. p. 130.

40. Printed in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft fuer deutsche Erziehungs und Schulgeschichte*, Vol. XI, Heft. 2. Berlin, 1901.

41. This is one of the many proofs found in their writings that the Brethren did not claim sinless perfection for themselves.

42. *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen*, p. 64.

43. *Geschicht-Buch*, p. 407.

44. *Ibid*, p. 457.

45. *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen*, pp. 72-85.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

47. In 1596 the Brethren wrote: "Sometimes a nobleman permits us to settle in his territory and later drives us out and we thus lose our real estate property, not to mention that some do not pay us the wages agreed upon for our workers." *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 444.
48. Beck, *Geschichtsbuecher,* p. 328. Christoph Andreas Fischer remarks that the Brethren spoke of Friedrich von Zierotin commonly as "unser Fritz." *Vier und funfftzig Erhebliche Ursachen,* p. 39.
49. *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 565.
50. *Ibid.,* p. 574.
51. *Ibid.,* p. 588.
52. One of the largest colonies of the Brethren was located in this small village. Here the head pastors resided.
53. Cardinal von Dietrichstein promised with a solemn oath that the money would not be taken from them. *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 579.
54. *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 567.
55. Obviously it was intentional that they were driven out at the beginning of the cold season of the year. The purpose was to compel them to forsake their faith.
56. *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 571.
57. *Ibid.,* p. 579.
58. This statement is found in a sermon (in manuscript) by Hans Friedrich Kuentsch who died in 1659 at Kesselsdorf in Hungary. Cf. Beck,*Geschichtsbuecher,* p. 496.
59. *Geschicht-Buch,* p. 621.
60. *Ibid.,* p. 632.
61. *Ibid.,* p. 642.
62. E. H. Correll in *Das Schweizerische Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* pp. 16f, note 2,
63. Cf. Beck, *Geschichtsbuecher,* p. 492.
64. Correll, *op. cit.,* p. 82, note 2.
gives as source, S. L. Neubauer, *Maehrische Brueder in Elbing, Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte,* Gotha, 1912, 3. Heft, pp. 447ff.

Mennonitism in a Latin-American Background

JOSEPHUS W. SHANK

The surrounding background of a colonizing Mennonite body always has an important bearing on its subsequent history. The background may allow freedom for natural expression of group characteristics, and, on the other hand, there may be limiting influences that prevent such expression. The background may be so free from foreign elements that a mixture with outside peoples is quite impossible, and on the other hand there may be a strong foreign element which eventually changes the entire character of the colonizing body.

To consider Mennonitism in a Latin American background is very different from considering it in an Anglo-Saxon background. The German speaking Mennonites of Pennsylvania in the early days were surrounded by the American Indian plus the Scotch-Irish and other European bodies. The Pilgrims in New England faced the Indians alone until other European elements entered their territory. The usual Mennonite settlements in new sections of the United States and Canada have always been surrounded by Anglo-Saxon elements most of which were fully American or in the process of Americanization. But a Mennonite settlement in any Latin American country will find itself surrounded by the distinctly Latin or mixed-blood type, which is very different from the Anglo-Saxon.

There are two ways in which a religious body may grow in a new territory: one is by transplanting a body of believers by colonization and letting it propagate itself in this new environment; the other is more like grafting. Certain leaders or missionaries, by teaching their doctrines to an entirely foreign group, become the builders of a new body of believers whose principles are patterned after those of the mother sect.

Fifty years hence we may be able to see the results of Mennonitism propagated by these two methods in Latin America. At present a bare beginning has been made. Mexico and Paraguay have within their borders the beginnings of Mennonite colonies. Argentine has the beginning of a Mennonite community where the church principles are being engrafted upon an entirely foreign stock. It is too early to speculate as to the future of these two movements in Latin America. The purpose of this article is rather to study the background as we find it, and observe its fitness or unfitness for the new elements.

The most prominent South American statesmen, as well as educators and missionaries, have made very pointed observations regarding the difference between the formative elements of North and South America. The former has the Anglo-Saxon Protestant elements while the latter has the

Latin Catholic; the former has had the Bible with all of its accompanying religious teachings, the latter has had Romanism with its accompanying formalism and image worship. While the settlements of North America were motivated by the keen desire for religious and civil liberty, those of the southern continent were inspired by the desire for conquest and the gain of wealth. The difference in the character and motives of these colonizing elements is what makes the enormous difference in the present racial, social, and moral composition of the populations of the two continents. And here is the main reason why a migrating religious body finds a great contrast between the backgrounds, for its life as a colony, in North and South America.

The Racial Background in Latin America

In Latin America there is a strong fusion of the Latin and Indian races. In some countries, as Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay, the predominating race, in numbers, is the Indian; while in others, like Argentine, Chile and Uruguay, it is the white. Of the total population of eighty million in the twenty republics, the best estimate shows that some 48 million are pure or mixed-blood Indian, while 32 million are pure white.

Although the Indian blood still predominates, the ruling class is really the Latin type. Thus the Latin methods and customs, as well as Latin characters are largely prevalent. Since it is a well-known fact that for centuries the Mennonite peoples have mixed little with other races, it may be expected that a fusion of the usual Mennonite German stock with the Indian and Latin would be very unlikely. Nevertheless when a body of Mennonites think of colonizing in Latin America, they can not ignore the fact that here the racial background is Latin and Indian, and not Anglo-Saxon. In the mind of the writer this is really a more serious consideration than some would think, and we doubt whether the colonizing bodies to Paraguay and Mexico gave it sufficient thought. We shall hope that they will be so strongly fortified with the real armor of the Christian that they will not be seriously endangered by the diverse elements into which they have been ushered.

The Character Background

The Indians of South America are very different in character from those of North America, in this that they are more submissive and their preference is to follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits. These characteristics have led them to submit to the authority of their Latin conquerors and to allow the Latin civilization to take precedence over that of the indigenous peoples.

Those of the Latin, or ruling class, who frequently boast of the

purity of their European descent, are proud, sentimental, passionate and highly attractive. They possess all of the graces of courtesy and attention that mark the highly cultured; but in religion they lack the most essential elements of reverence and consciousness of sin.

Where the usual Mennonite of German stock comes endowed with business thrift, caution, fair dealing, strict honesty, heart sincerity and calmness in action, he will find the average Latin American to be endowed with greed, dishonesty and trickery in his business, much pretension of goodness and sincerity, used as a cloak for his gross immorality and even criminality, and, with all of this, a passion that is swift and uncontrolled.

It is not difficult to surmise what effect these Latin characteristics will have upon the Mennonite immigrant. He will find it exceedingly hard to enter into business or social relations with these people, because he will not be able to do it with full confidence. On the other hand, it must be remembered that by no means all of the people have such unfavorable characteristics as those listed above. There will be found among them many honest and sincere people. One writer has said that, "It does not take as many good people to save a situation as it takes bad people to ruin it." This being true, the seed of goodness in these lands may yet save the situation when Christ comes into the lives of those who receive him. But a Christian people, desiring to try its fortune in a new environment like that of a Latin American country where there is so much immorality and corruption, ought to be fully aware of the situation before the beginning of such a venture.

The Religious Background

In Latin America the religious background is distinctly Roman. The ancient idolatry of the Indian has been displaced by another form of idolatry that does homage to the images of Christ, of the virgin and of numerous saints. Countless superstitions cluster about the shrine of every virgin and saint. The rites of baptism, marriage and burial, as well as masses and prayers for the dead are performed only upon the payment of stipulated fees, all of which bears evidence to the avaricious character of the religious leaders. Lying, gambling, graft, illicit sexual relations, and almost any other form of unwholesome conduct is practiced by the priests themselves and has become the talk of every town and village; while the poor as well as the rich lay members may commit the most heinous sins and yet retain their membership in the church. The resulting unbelief and religious indifference on the part of the masses makes society as a whole quite similar to an unregenerate heathen society.

After a people has lived for centuries under Catholic domination, the moral fiber of their character becomes warped and distorted. A life of honesty and purity seems to the average Latin American like an ideal for angels but not for men.

The Mennonites of North America have nearly always been surrounded by those of the Protestant faith. This means that they have not had to contend with the diverse religious beliefs of the anti-Protestants. While they did not find other religious sects to be in harmony with them in their insistence on non-resistance and simplicity of attire, there were no radical theological differences between the Mennonites and others.

Let us now imagine the mingling of the members of a Mennonite colony with a people whose religious and moral ideals are so greatly at variance with their own, as to inspire repugnance rather than respect. This is the sort of religious background that such colonies will find in all parts of Latin America. The reader can judge whether it is more or less desirable than a North American religious background where Protestantism is predominant and where the existing Catholicism is of a much finer type than that of Latin America.

The Intellectual or Cultural Background

The Roman church has been closely associated with the education and culture of Latin America from the beginning. All of the first schools were established and controlled by the church. It is easy to surmise that all such schools bore the ecclesiastical stamp. The teachers were dogmatic and gave no freedom of thought, their text books being distinctly Catholic in spirit. In fact the system of education in vogue in the times of the Inquisition was used and continued in Latin America. At least five universities were established in the leading countries of Latin America before any was established in the United States. The first in Lima, 1551, was established 85 years before Harvard and 150 years before Yale.

But as time has gone on, the church has lost its control of education. Its present power is limited to private schools of high grade and to professorates in some state institutions. There are still in use many text books such as those in Spanish grammar, history and science, that have been written by priests.

Although much may be said about the efficiency of the instruction and the wide range of preparation that is given to those who pass through the common and secondary schools, yet it must be distinctly remembered that in practically all Latin American countries the education is lacking in character building elements. One university president said, "We are able to instruct, but we do not seem able to form men. We cannot educate."

Furthermore, the existing educational system hardly touches the masses. Beyond the fourth or fifth grade, so many obstacles are found in the path of the poor boy that it takes almost herculean courage to pass beyond.

As to illiteracy, the following is the approximate standing of some of the leading countries. The lowest percent of illiteracy or 38.8% will be found in Argentine. Uruguay follows with 40%. The highest illiteracy is found in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay and others where it reaches from 90 to 95%. There is a general average of illiteracy of about 75% in all the republics.

Having thus observed the general favorable characteristics of the educational system, as well as its failure to develop character and lift up the masses, we are ready to study the adaptability of the educational background for Mennonite colonization. Perhaps it may seem to some that there is little to consider here, inasmuch as Mennonite Colonies would not care to have any connection with the educated nor with the educational systems. If a charter like that which has been granted to the Paraguayan Mennonite colony would be granted by other governments, and then be adhered to by them, the matter would not seem serious; but those who know Latin American governments, will not place over-confidence in "a scrap of paper." Most governments have a centralized school system and they are loathe to grant the right to deviate from the prescribed course of study, and least of all, to permit the use of a foreign language in the schools.

Where a large percent of the masses are illiterate, the environment for a colony is not favorable. It was the writer's privilege to visit a Waldensian colony, in Argentine, where several hundred families have settled. They had some schools of their own, but the tendency was to neglect the education of their children as did their Argentine neighbors. It is highly probable that, in time, the colony will grow more and more like its surroundings in intellectual as well as in other things.

Mennonite Principles in a Latin American Background

Probably the two principles that most clearly distinguish the old Mennonites from most other Protestant bodies are those of simplicity in attire and non-resistance. Practically all Latin American countries present a suitable background for the former principle. Life, in general, is more simple in Latin America than in North America. While there is no tendency to adopt a special form of attire, yet the people prefer all that belongs to the simple life, and welcome teachings along that line.

As a general rule, the people are not as courageous as the Anglo-Saxons to stand alone for the sake of certain principles. They are less able than North Americans to bear the scorn or reproach of others for pecul-

iarities. They are ready, however, to be a peculiar people in so far as morality and Christian reason is concerned, but they would not adopt peculiar customs just to be peculiar. For this reason foreign religious bodies should try to adapt themselves to conditions in Latin American countries and not insist on importing elements from North American civilization.

The subject of non-resistance has never been presented to the Latin American countries. They are like those in other parts of the world in this that they consider war as a necessary evil. They are not accustomed to think of the matter from a moral or religious standpoint. Inasmuch as the Mennonite missionaries teach non-resistance as a Christian principle, it has come before all of those who were converted in our missions. We have found a readiness to accept the Mennonite interpretation of Christ's teachings on the subject. It will be a long time, however, until we can hope to see the governments take the view of the pacifists. Compulsory military service and training is the general rule in all countries. Children born of Mennonite families, while in these countries, can expect to be subject to the military laws. Time, alone, will show whether the governments will grant freedom from service to those who conscientiously object to it.

After ten years of work in Argentine, the missionaries believe that a new Mennonite society can be developed here. It would be practically impossible to bring formal customs from another country expecting to engraft them upon the society here. But the people are quite ready to take the Word of God and make it their rule of life. Any scripture that can be understood to make definite requirements as to conduct and customs will be accepted as of the Lord.

The Value of Family History for Mennonite History

(Illustrated from Nafziger Family History Material)

Ernst Correll

III.

The Nafzigers in Europe (Continued)

A Letter of 1871, by Bishop Johannes Nafziger

An extensive letter of June 6th, 1928, in which Dr. G. Kurz, head of the State Archive in Berne, Switzerland, kindly helped to explain some puzzles concerning Amish-Mennonite Family names, explains the Swiss origin of the name Nafziger in its various forms of spelling. According to Staatsarchivar Kurz, the present Swiss spelling seems to be Nafzger. Dr. Kurz reports that the Nafziger kin is not very numerous in the old country. Obviously the bulk of the people carrying the name Nafziger now reside in America since there are not many Nafzigers in France, Germany and The Netherlands. Dr. Kurz traces the origin of the Nafzigers or rather Nafzgers to the city of Thun (where they have since died out) and to the Bernese village of Uetendorf near Thun, where Nafzgers are still living.

Johannes Nafziger, born 1706

Johannes Nafziger (No. 7), the Amihs Edler or Bishop of Essingen in the Palatinate, which was under the jurisdiction of the Barons von Dalberg, continues to be the central figure in the material gathered for the purpose of illuminating Amish-Mennonite History in general by going into the so far unknown records of a distinct Swiss Anabaptist family. He seems to have been the outstanding leader of his group in the eighteenth century. Hanss Nafziger (as he signed his own name) appears in connection with unusual events in the Amish-Mennonite History of this period. Through his extant writings as well as the extant official documents concerning him, Amish life and customs of the eighteenth century are revealed in a very interesting light. So far but few details had been known about this group. Hanss Nafziger's strong personality stands out very clearly. He was the religious leader, organizer and responsible representative of his group to the Palatinate government. One could easily write a biography about him. Not many family histories offer such attractive information on a single personality as are offered on this Johannes Nafziger.

According to his own writing he was born in 1706. His place of birth

could not be traced. It is possible that he was born in Switzerland and emigrated with his group with that well-known dramatic exodus of 1711*.

Johannes Nafziger probably grew up and started farming on the Mechtersheimerhof in the county of Germersheim, Palatinate, where documents mention him in 1738 and 1740. This estate was owned by the Catholic Church and was given in tenancy to three Amish families. In 1765 Johannes Nafziger was the first time mentioned in connection with the estate in Essingen which belonged to the Barons of Dalberg. He was ordained a preacher in 1731 and grew into the leadership of the "Essinger Gemeinschaft," an Amish congregation comprising the families on the Mechtersheimerhof, at Eusserthal, on the Pfalzhof (also called Breitwieserhof), on the Gehrweilerhof and on the Muhlhof in Pfalz-Zweibruecken. Essingen was the center of this congregation and the preferred meeting place. Not many data of Johannes Nafziger's family could be ascertained so far. In 1780 we learn of his son-in-law, Christian Burky, 40 years of age, having three children, one of them 16 years old. The Burkys lived on the Mechtersheimerhof. This information was found in the court records concerning the investigation of the alleged "re-baptism" of the Maurer daughters by Bishop Nafziger, a case which has been described at length in the January, 1928, number of THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW. The details as given above are taken from the description which Christian Neff gives in the 1906 issue of *Christliche Gemeinde Kalender* (Eine Bekehrungsgeschichte, Aus den Akten des Karlsruher General-landes-archiv, pp. 54-78). Neff reports that the Baron von Dalberg protected his subject Johannes Nafziger in vain against the Palatinate Government which in 1781 enforced the punishment on him for having taken back into his congregation the two Maurer daughters. Even the county officials of Germersheim appealed to the Palatinate Government to acquit Nafziger and set him free since he had not used any force in the matter. Many other people testified to his excellent reputation, but it was of no avail. According to Neff's sources, Bishop Nafziger was fined 500 Gulden, a heavy fine at that time, which meant probably his whole fortune. Not only that—Bishop Nafziger was also exiled from the Palatinate. This is the last we hear from him. He was then 75 years old.

Johannes Nafziger's religious leadership is in a most interesting way documented in an "old letter" with an appendix from his hand telling as

*However, Ernst Muller's *Geschichte der Berner Taeufer* does not mention any Nafzigers in the lists of the emigrants nor in thosq on the first settlements in the Palatinate in the early eighteenth century. Staatsarchivar Dr. Kurz in his letter mentioned above suggests that Muller's book is by far not complete and that the State Archive of Berne possesses more information concerning Mennonites which has not been touched at all. A systematic study of it would help to clarify many still puzzling questions.

far back as 1765 of religious and social difficulties which he helped to settle. They concerned the Amish congregation ("Schwitzer Gemein") which after the exodus from Berne in 1711 had settled in The Netherlands. Practically nothing had been known about the settlement, life and order of this group in the diaspora among the Dutch Mennonites (with whom its descendants affiliated after many decades of various struggles). It seems that Johannes Nafziger, the Bishop of the Essingen congregation, had much to say and to suggest within the committee of the other Amish Bishops of the "Oberland" who were repeatedly sent to The Netherlands to look into the matters. The letter and its appendix contain touches telling of the intimate concern which Bishop Nafziger had in these affairs. They round out the picture of his Christian personality in a very impressive fashion. For the larger whole of the Amish history which is so sparsely documented these extant writings of Bishop Nafziger contribute a very valuable source. We start with the publication of the letter in this issue by beginning with the appendix in which Bishop Nafziger gives a kind of a historical survey of what had happened previous to the occasion of the letter of March 26, 1781.

The letter with its appendix, written in the quaint and simple German style of the Amish, was published in 1916 by the Amish Bishop John D. Hochstettler through the "Mennonitische Verlagshandlung" in Elkhart, Indiana. For the complete title of this reproduction see H. S. Bender's *Mennonitica Americana V,* The Mennonite Quarterly Review, April, 1928, page 150, "*Ein alter-Brief.*" The American publication of this letter in the original language shows the value which that particular group of the Amish still give to the rules and suggestions issued by Bishop Nafziger in the eighteenth century. A copy is in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College. The translation is as literal as possible. The dots follow the original. No omissions have been made. A few notes are given to help the reader, especially where geographical terms are involved. Dr. Richard Kuehnemund, of the English Department of the University of Goettingen, Germany, now at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, was kind enough to advise in the translation.

MEMOIRS OF BISHOP JOHANNES NAFZIGER

Translated from the Original Text

Recollections of certain experiences of by-gone times.

(The following has been arranged at the suggestion of good friends and sympathetic people):

In 1765 the following brethren were asked to come to The Nether-

lands: Christian Gungerich of Huninghausen in Waldeck[1], Jacob Holly of Muhlhofen in Zweibrucken[2], Hans Nafziger of Essingen near Landau. Arriving in The Netherlands they learned that our Swiss congregation or the Amish were in the midst of great church trouble. This trouble had been caused by the disharmony among the church officials. The consequences thereof had gone so far that for six years or longer they had not celebrated the Lord's Supper; no young people were given the hand of fellowship any longer; no baptism had been administered and no wedding ceremony had been preformed any more. This disorder had caused many young people to go into the world, a situation which created much sadness not only among them but also among us in the Oberland[3], etc.

While we were staying with them their disorder grew still more conspicuous . . . .

When we urged them to make peace their congregation fell apart so that we did not know what to do . . . .

They asked us finally whether the majority, that is, the bulk of their votes, should not decide and help to settle their affairs, etc. Yet while taking a vote we found out that the majority of the votes were cast to the left side (in the negative). And again they inquired whether among us (in the Oberland) the majority of the cast votes would not help to decide a question which had been raised . . . .

Thereupon we answered: "Yes, but only in case the officials and the congregation cherish the same opinion, etc. . . . . Since, however, in your case the officials and the congregation are in discord the majority of the votes is of no weight at all." The only solution would be that both sides should be willing to leave the decision to us who are impartial officials and ready to study the case and to decide thereupon according to the Word of God . . . .

On this they finally agreed with us, and we took the matter over as well as we could in our weakness to judge in accordance with the Scripture and the Christian order, etc. . . . .

We now withdrew into the chamber with a few well-meaning lay brethren, who knew Christ's teaching, in order to take council, presenting to them the matter as we in our weakness understood it following the Word of God . . . . Thus about thirty people in one day voted with us and helped to prepare the decision.

After having spent nine weeks of great sadness with them they still asked us to stay longer and to celebrate the Lord's Supper with them. We reminded them, however, of the fact that they had lived together in discord for so many years until now. . . . Therefore they should now pray together earnestly and stand together in peace and patience for a year.

After that with the Lord's help we would be willing to dispatch officials to them to hold communion with them and ordain church officials, etc. . . . .

In 1766 then the following brethren were sent to visit them in The Netherlands, who celebrated the Lord's Supper with them and ordained officials: Hans Reichen of Munzfel-gard[4], Jacob Ribb of the Preiss-gau[5], Jacob Goldschmitt of Markirch[6], and Christen Guengerich of Steinfeltz near Weissenburch in Alsace[7].

Upon this and on their request the following brethren were sent to help in administering the congregation: Hans Hubscher, an ordained preacher of the Weisenburger congregation[8] together with Abraham Lafer in Gruningen[9], Peter Reichen and David Reichen in Sachmen[10] and Daniel Reichen in Compen and Christan Stutzman near Compen[11], and Christen Bury near Gruningen.

In 1770 another group of brethren were sent to ordain some officials in The Netherlands and to observe their conduct. They spent seven weeks there. Their names were: Jacob Kupfer-Schmitt of Salm, Alsace[12], Christen Joder of Rosenthal in the Palatinate[13], Hans Nafziger of Esingen near Landau.

Beloved friends and co-workers, the Swiss congregation in The Netherlands has been given peace and order under much labor and effort, etc.

We had to learn with sorrow, however, that it seems almost impossible for them to ordain young officials . . . . They write us that if they vote for such young officials they refuse the office . . . . a very embarrassing situation which grieves us, etc. . . . .

Does this not indicate the great danger that this congregation will cease to exist?

We should remember an old rule among our forefathers which is still in use: An official who should take ill suddenly or should be hindered from coming to church for any other important reason should inform and ask another official to come. In case, however, he should not be able to reach another official he should send message to the meeting place and send greetings to the congregation together with an explanation of his failure to come in order to prevent the congregation from waiting too long and becoming worried. Thus they could at least sing together, read a few chapters, and after a common prayer could return home . . . .

It happened rather often that the brethren of the congregations complained about their officials who should have conducted the church on Sunday, but did not arrive for quite a while. Oftentimes they did not come before 10 or 11 o'clock and the people were displeased and waited about the farm yard and along the fences until 11 or 12 o'clock . . . . This was

considered a very disagreeable state of affairs and the following rule has been decided upon to help matters: At 10:00 o'clock if the people are assembled but no official is present to conduct church, no message having arrived and no substantial reason remaining to expect the official, the brotherhood should be permitted to return home after they had sung together and read some chapters and had prayed together, etc. . . . .

Of course it might often happen that the officials would not appear before the people for a good while, but are nevertheless present. It may be they have to take council and much business has to be attended to as there are so often many disagreeable things to be settled. In such cases the brotherhood should have patience with their officials and should not grumble at once because there are often matters to be settled in which the congregation must be asked.

He, who is ready to agree with us on these points, should sign below[14].

In conclusion, we give our friendly greetings and ask God's blessings for all preachers and elders and also for all the brethren and sisters.

Esingen, the 14th of the month of Christ, 1781.

Hanss Nafziger
Andreas Leyen-Berger
Joseph Rincken-Berg
Jacob Schenk
Jacob Uhlmann
Joseph Stalter-Chryt
Hans Stalter
Peter Schanz

(Beloved friends, please accept this writing in patience. It has been written mostly under the lamp at night, but without spectacles because with the grace of God I have preserved good eyesight so far, for which I will give the Lord high praise and thanks . . . .

This was written in the 75th year of my life.

When I served the gospel in my 50th year in weakness and unworthiness.

Hanss Nafziger of Essingen.)

(N. B.—The original German text of the conclusion is here presented for the sake of its spirit.)

(Geliebte Freunden, traget fuer dies Mal Geduld mit diesem Schreiben. Dieses ist viel bei Nacht und Licht geschrieben worden, doch ohne Spiegel der Augen, weilen ich bisher durch des Herrn Gnad mein gut Gesicht der Augen behalten habe, dafuer ich dom Herrn hoechlich Lob und Dank sage . . . .

Dieses ist geschrieben im fuenf und siebenzigsten Jahr meines Alters.

Als ich mein 50tes Jahr in Schwachheit und Unwuerdigkeit am Evangelium gedienet habe.

Hanss Nafziger, von Essingen.)

NOTES

1. Waldeck-Pyrmont, a small German principality embedded in Prussian territory, gave protection to the Amish probably as early as the beginning of the 18th century. They seemed to have settled exclusively on estates in the county of Waldeck. Nothing has been done as yet in an investigation of this settlement. So far only family histories have indicated relations to the Waldeck Amish. A possible help in the study of this group may be the *Geschichtsblatter fur Waldeck and Pyrmont,* Mengeringhausen, 1901ff.
2. The Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibruecken, later connected with the Bavarian Palatinate. Professor Dr. A. Becker in Zweibrucken, Palatinate, is an expert for the history of this territory. Not many details on the original Amish settlements have been ascertained so far.
3. It seems that when the Amish speak of the "Oberland" they refer to those settlements outside Switzerland reaching from Alsace to the Netherlands.
4. Mompelgart or Montbeliard, now France, cf. Ch. Mathiot, *Recherches historigues sur les Anabaptists de l'ancienne Principaute de Montbeliard.* Belfort, 1922, and Correll, *Schweizerisches Taufer-Mennonitentum,* chapter on the Mennonite model farmers in Alsace.
5. Breisgau in the South of Baden, Germany, with the city of Freiburg as the center. Documents on these settlements are in the General-Landes-Archiv in Karlsruhe, Germany, and in private archives of the princely estates which employed the Amish as tenants. See Hege Art. *Baden, Mennonitisches Lexikon.*
6. Markirch or Ste. Marie-aux-Mines in the Upper-Alsace, an old Anabaptist settlement. See literature under Note 4.
7. Steinfels near Weissenburg in Alsace at the foot of the Eastern slope of the Vosges Mountains where there were many Amish settlers. See Note. 4.
8. The Weissenburger congregation comprised various settlements, including those of the neighboring Pfalz-Zweibruecken.
9. It is not likely that this is Gruningen near Zurich. Most probably it is a place in Alsace.
10. Sachmen, a place which could not be identified. Perhaps it is a misspelling for Salm. See Note. 12.
11. Compen in Alsace. See *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Neff-Correll, Art. Elsaas.
12. Salm is a very old and well-known Amish settlement in the Vosges Mountains. A. Michiels, *Les Anabaptists des Vosges,* Paris, 1860, and literature under Note 11.
13. Rosenthal in the Palatinate could not be identified.
14. Apparently these signatures represent various Amish congregations; how many, however, is not clear. Most probably the signers represent the congregations which were mentioned throughout the memoirs of Bishop Nafziger in the above translation.

Early Mennonite Sunday Schools

II.

Silas Hertzler

The School at Vineland, Ontario, 1848

A series of articles entitled, "Geschichte der Mennoniten in Canada," by Dr. A. Eby, appears in *Der Mennonitische Friedensbote* during the year 1872. These articles were later reprinted as a booklet. Among the other historical details concerning Mennonite growth and development in Ontario, Dr. Eby reveals to us that a Mennonite Sunday School existed at Vineland, in Lincoln county, Ontario, as early as 1848. In point of time this information suggests that, as far as available facts go, this school in Lincoln county, Ontario, was the second Sunday School to be established in the Mennonite church. The only earlier Sunday School in the church was the one established near Masontown, Pennsylvania, by Bishop Nicholas Johnson, in 1840 or in 1842.[1]

Concerning this school in Ontario Dr. Eby says: "In the year 1848 the ministers Jacob Gross and Dilman Moyer decided to open a Sunday School in the congregation in Lincoln. This was done without getting the consent of the minister, Daniel Hoch, who, however, had no objections. Everything seemed to go well for a time, until Satan discovered in the Sunday School a means for the destruction of his kingdom, and determined on that account to suppress it."[2]

After he discusses at some length a division which took place about this time in the church in Lincoln county, Ontario, Dr. Eby makes one reference more to this Sunday School. He writes: "I will now turn again to the cause of the division. Gross and Moyer conducted the Sunday School for a time in unity and peace; but several important questions which emerged, soon occasioned a feeling of suspicion among them. They still continued to work together, although they constantly came into further conflict. Preacher Hoch recalled all the earlier misunderstandings. He knew from earlier experience, that some of his colaborers were not in complete sympathy with him, and he determined for that reason not to become entangled in the dispute. Things remained in this condition until near the usual time for holding the Communion service."[3] The school apparently lasted less than one year.

According to a recent letter from Bishop S. F. Coffman, the present pastor of the congregation at Vineland, Ontario, this early Sunday School was later discontinued. However, the present Sunday School library indicates that the school was reopened, again in the German, some time

between 1860 and 1870. On this point Coffman says: "I have some information regarding this Sunday School, but have no definite data. Some of the older people here know of attending Sunday School very early, but it seems that the Sunday School must have been discontinued for some time, and not begun again for some years, perhaps in the sixties. We have sufficient evidence of a Sunday School library in our church here in Vineland, making use of the German books published by the American Tract Society in the sixties."[4] Oscar Burkholder, the present secretary of the Ontario Mennonite Sunday School Conference, states that available information of a detailed nature concerning the Sunday School at Vineland dates only from 1876.[5]

Further data concerning this early school are not available. We know from the evidence given that it existed at least for a short time. It was conducted in the German language, for all church work was carried on in German at that time. It was begun, and carried on by Jacob Gross and Dilman Moyer. Gross was bishop of the congregation, with Moyer as one of the ministers. After the death of Bishop Gross, Dilman Moyer was ordained to that office. Moyer then served as bishop of the congregation until 1873 when his death occurred.[4]

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the course of a brief research tour in Ontario during June and July, from which the editor returned as the copy for the above article was going to press, some additional information was secured regarding early Sunday Schools in Ontario. First, a copy of *Aufschluss der Verfolgungen gegen, Daniel Hoch,* 1854, was found, in which Hoch himself refers to the Sunday School of 1848. The information is given on pages 15ff. and is apparently the source from which Eby secured his information.

In the second place, evidence has been unearthed which shows that Bishop Benjamin Eby conducted Sunday School in the Mennonite school house on the Berlin (now Kitchener) Mennonite Church grounds before 1847. Solomon Eby, still living at the age of 93, recollects having attended this school on a Sunday afternoon in his boyhood at about the age of 12. Apparently Benjamin Eby's Sunday School preceded that organized by Jacob Gross and the Moyers at Vineland in 1848. The story of this Sunday School will be related in more detail later.

1. *Herald of Truth.* September, 1873. p. 158, cf., April Number of THE REVIEW.
2. *Der Mennonitische Friedensbote,* May 15, 1872. pp. 74-75. (Vol. 16, No. 10.)
3. *Der Mennonitische Friedensbote,* June 1, 1872. p. 81. (Vol. 16, No. 11.)
4. Letter from S. F. Coffman, Vineland, Ontario, May 15, 1928.
5. Letter from Oscar Burkholder, Breslau, Ontario, June 14, 1928.

Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature

MENNONITICA AMERICANA, 1905-1927

H. S. Bender

VI

Introduction

With this installment the bibliography of American Mennonite literature which was begun in the January, 1927 issue of the REVIEW is concluded. This last section contains the literature of all the Mennonite groups, with the exception of the main group which was treated in the last issue, for the years 1905-1927. About half the list is occupied with the literature of the General Conference Mennonite Church of North America. Due to the large number of smaller groups it has been impossible to make the list complete so that what is presented is in effect a trial list. Particularly is this true for the so-called Holdeman Mennonite and Reformed Mennonite or Herrite groups, but also for many of the others.

A few interesting points should be noted in connection with the literature of the General Conference Mennonites. Practically all of the imprints issue from the two publishing houses of the group, the Mennonite Book Concern at Berne, Indiana, and the Herold Publishing House, Newton, Kansas. The former is a conference establishment while the latter is a private concern. In the literature of the group it is interesting to note that there is practically no theological or devotional literature of any extent, although there are numerous pamphlets along this line. Langenwalter's *Charge of the Church of Jesus Christ to You,* directed to young people, is the only book of this sort. However there are a large number of historical writings including several books. Outstanding among these are Langenwalter's *Christ's Headship of the Church*—1917; Smith's *The Mennonites*—1920, Hartzler's *Education Among the Mennonites of America,* and Peter's *History of Education Among the Mennonites of Kansas*—1925. Striking among the literary productions of the group are the anthropological publications of H. R. Voth, long missionary among the Indians of the southwest, which treat especially of the Hopi, Arapaho, and Oraibi Indian culture. Still more striking are the translations of the missionaries Epp and Petter into the Indian dialects of the Hopi and Cheyenne respectively. In this field Rudolph Petter has won considerable renown, particularly for his extraordinary dictionary of the Cheyenne language produced in 1915. Petter created the literary language of this group and has a notable record of service among them.

The historical interest among the other groups may also be seen in the

list. Within the past ten years we find the Hutterites reprinting *Ehrenpreiss' Sendbrief*—1920, the Mennonite Brethren Harms' *Geschichte der Mennoniten Bruedergemeinde*—1924, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Huffman's *History of the M. B. C. Church*—1920, The Central Conference Weaver's *History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church*—1926, the Manitoba Mennonites *Kanadische Mennoniten*—1924.

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church has produced more literature of general interest than the other churches, particularly in the writings of J. A. Huffman. Outstanding among Huffman's books are, *The Progressive Unfolding of the Messianic Hope*—1924, and *Guide to the Study of the Old and New Testaments*—1926. The latter book has been adopted as a state text for High Schools in Indiana and has already sold more than 5,000 copies. Two interesting missionary stories are Miss Lambert's *Hadjin and the Armenian Massacres*—1911, and Mrs. Eby's *At the Mercy of Turkish Brigands*—1926.

Since the first instalments of the bibliography were printed numerous additions have been received. For this reason, and also in order to make the bibliography more accessible and usable, it has been decided to publish it in book form. It will be published by the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College in the fall of 1928 as a book of about 150 pages. In addition to the revision of the bibliography as printed in the REVIEW there will be an introductory survey of the literature, and several indices.

The compiler takes this opportunity again to express his hearty appreciation to the many friends who have assisted in the preparation of the list. Without this co-operation the entire work would have been altogether impossible.

THE LITERATURE OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF MENNONITES OF NORTH AMERICA 1905-1927

1867 MENNONITISCHE BILDUNGSANSTALT.
Wadsworth, Medina County, Ohio.

A four-page large size folder containing the preliminary announcement of this first Mennonite school of higher education. A copy is to be found in the Hartford Seminary Library at Hartford, Conn.

1874 Goerz, D.(avid)
DAS WEIHNACHTSFEST DER SONNTAGS- UND WOCHENSCHULE, fuer 1873, in Summerfield, Illinois, oder: ein Kinderscherflein fuer arme Kinder in Russland, die gerne nach Amerika kommen moechten. Zum Besten der Letztern herausgegeben, von D. Goerz, Lehrer an der Gemeindeschule der Mennoniten, in Summerfield, St. Clair Co., Ills.
Summerfield, St. Clair County, Illinois. 1874. pp. 15, P. GCL

1901 KLEINER LIEDERSCHATZ fuer die Schule und den Familien-Kreis. Gesammelt und geordnet von einigen Lehrern und Schulfreunden in Kansas. *Newton, Kansas. Schulverlag von Bethel College.* 1901. pp. 135, 12mo. GCL BeCL
Reprint: Newton 1914, 1928.

—— Voth, H. R. and Dorsey, George A.
THE ORAIBI SOYAL CEREMONY by George A. Dorsey, Curator, Department of Anthropology, and H. R. Voth, Assistant, Department of Anthropology.
The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition. Chicago, U. S. A. March, 1901. *Field Columbian Museum. Publication* 55. *Anthropological Series Vol. III, No.* 1. pp. 59, 8vo., with 37 plates.

1902 Allebach, Harvey G.
ECHOES FROM PARNASSUS. By Harvey G. Allebach.
Witness Print, Berne, Ind. pp. 41, 8vo. GCL SMG

1905 (?) CONSTITUTION OF THE MIDDLE DISTRICT CONFERENCE of the Gen. Conf. of Menn. of N. A.
Witness Print, Berne, Ind. pp. 16, P.
This conference was organized in 1888 but the *Berne Witness* not published until 1896. This should be dated probably after 1900.

—— (?) KONSTITUTION DER MITTLEREN DISTRIKT-KONFERENZ von der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten von Nord Amerika.
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind. pp. 10, P.

—— (?) Peters, Isaac
EINE BELEUCHTUNG DER SCHRIFTEN MENNOS und der sogenannten "Taufgesinnten" seiner Zeit, welcher Gemeinschaft Menno angehoerte.
Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Ind. pp. 40, P. GCL MPH

—— (?) Peters, Isaak
DIE CHRISTLICHE WASSERTAUFE, ihr Zweck und ihre Bedeutung. Von Isaak Peters.
Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. pp. 16, P. MPH

—— Schormann, A. R.
ANTRITTSPREDIGT gehalten von A. R. Schormann, Pastor an der Menn. Gnadenkirche zu Pandora, Ohio. Sonntag Abend den 26 Februar 1905. SMG

—— Wedel, C. H.
KURZGEFASSTE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE Fuer Schulen und Familien. Bearbeitet von C. H. Wedel, Professor an Bethel College, einer Mennonitischen Bildungs-Anstalt.
Newton, Kansas. Schulverlag von Bethel College, 1905. pp. 262, 8vo. SMG BeCL

1906 Grubb, N. B.
THE MENNONITE CHURCH OF GERMANTOWN. 1683, 1708, 1770. Proverbs 22:28.** N. B. Grubb.
Philadelphia, Pa., 1906. pp. 16. SMG BECL

—— Ris, Cornelis
DIE GLAUBENSLEHRE DER MENNONITEN ODER TAUFGESINNTEN . . . ,
Herausgegeben vom Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind. 1906. pp. 68, 12mo. GCL

—— Wedel, C. H.
BRIEFLICHE BLAETTER an einen Lebenden ueber Bildung, Gesellschaft- und Heirats-Fragen. Von C. H. Wedel.
Verlag von Bethel College, Newton, Kansas. 1906. SMG

1907 DER MITARBEITER.
Gretna, Manitoba.

1907 Mosiman, Samuel K.
EINE ZUSAMMENSTELLUNG und Vergleichung der Paralleltexte der Chronik und der aelteren Buecher des Alten Testaments. (Teile I u. II). Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwuerde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultaet der Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universitaet Halle-Wittenberg. Vorgelegt von Samuel K. Mosiman aus Chicago, Ill., U. S. A. (Spaeter soll das ganze in Druck erscheinen).
Halle a. S. Hofbuchdruckerei von C. A. Kaemmerer & Co. 1907. pp. 126, 8vo.

—— Petter, Rodolphe
SKETCH OF THE CHEYENNE GRAMMAR, by Rodolphe Petter. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association. Volume I, Part 6.
Lancaster, Pa., U. S. A. The New Era Printing Company, September, 1907. pp. 443-478.

1908 Langenwalter, J. H.
EIN LEITFADEN ZU EINER PRAKTISCHEN UNTERSUCHUNG DER APOSTELGESCHICHTE. Bearbeitet von J. H. Langenwalter.
pp. 61, P. GCL SMG

1909 Grubb, N. B.
PRO COPIA INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM concerning that which was considered in facti, by the Lord Commissioners of the Palatine Electoral Prince in Reference to the Protestant Mennonites at Reijdt in the year 1694, and what transpired. Translated from High German into Low German, with corrections by Godschalk Godschalks, Creveld, July 5, 1771. Translated into English from the Dutch, July, 1909 (by N. B. Grubb, Philadelphia, Pa.)
Copy of the Letters of the King of England to the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate, written in their favor. Translated from French into German. Dated 1694 and 1697.

Also two letters from the Mennonites in eastern Pennsylvania to the Mennonites in Amsterdam, one dated Germantown, Sept. 3, 1708, and one Schiebach, Oct. 19, 1745, pp. 45, 12 mo.

1909 Jubilaeums-Fest der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten von Nord-Amerika. Gefeiert in Beatrice, Nebraska den 7. September, 1908, in Verbindung mit der achtzehnten Sitzung der Allgemeinen Konferenz. Herausgegeben auf Verordnung der Konferenz.
Berne, Indiana. Mennonite Book Concern, 1909. pp. 95, 8vo.

1910 Grubb, N. B.
Traditions and Reminiscences. N. B. Grubb.
Frederick, Pennsylvania, 1910. SMG

—— Abdruck der Gesammt-Protokolle der Kansas und Westlichen Distrikt Conferenz der Mennoniten von Nord-Amerika 1877-1909.
Herold-Druck, Newton, Kansas, 1910. pp. 491, 8vo.

1910 Claassen, P. A.
Die Schicksalsfrage in Schillers Dramen und dramatischen Entwuerfen im Kontrast zu der eigentliche sogenannten Schicksalsdramen. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doktor-wuerde der Fakultaet der Universitaet von Chicago. Vorgelegt von P. A. Claassen.
Leipzig. Buchhandlung Gustav Fock, G. m. b. h. 1910. pp. 126, 8vo.

—— Thierstein, Johann R.
Novalis und der Pietismus. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktor-Wuerde der hohen philosophischen Fakultaet der Universitaet Bern. Vorgelegt von Johann R. Thierstein von Whitewater, Kansas, U. S. A.
pp. 127, 8vo.

—— Voth, H. R.
Gibt es Verhaeltnisse unter uns, die ein Werben von seiten der geheimen Gesellschaften unter unsern Gliedern beguenstigen? Und wie begruenden wir unsere Stellung diesen Gesellschaften gegenueber? H. R. Voth.
1910. *Gretna, Manitoba.*

1911 Krehbiel, H. P., B. D.
Mennonite Churches of North America. A Statistical Compilation Collected and Arranged under the Auspices of the Mennonite General Conference of North America. By H. P. Krehbiel, B. D., Newton, Kansas.
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. Herold Book & Publ. Co., Newton, Kansas. pp. 93, long 8vo.

—— Cheyenne Mission Souvenir.
Copyrighted 1911 *by Bertha E. Kinsinger.* (pp. 50), long 8vo.
Consists exclusively of photographs.

—— Mennonitischer Bethel Diakonissenstift und Hospital, Cor. South Second and Pine Str., Newton, Kans. Ein kurzer Ueberblick der Ge-

schichte der Anstalt. Ein Werberuf fuer die junge Schwestern unserer Gemeinden.
Herausgegeben von dem Direktorium der Bethel Diakonissenstift und Hospital Gesellschaft. 1911. pp. 26, long P.

1911 Mosiman Eddison
DAS ZUNGENREDEN GESCHICHTLICH UND PSYCHOLOGISCH UNTERSUCHT von Eddison Mosiman.
Tuebingen. Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1911. SMG

1912 Petter, Rev. Rudolph
PAVEHOSTO. THE GOSPELS OF LUKE AND JOHN. Translated from the original texts by Rev. Rudolph Petter.
Printed in the Interest of the Mennonite Mission Among the Cheyennes. 1912. SMG

1912 Voth, H. R.
ARAPAHO TALES. By H. R. Voth.
Reprinted from *The Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Vol. XXV., No. XCV., January-March, 1912. pp. (43-50).

—— Voth, H. R.
BRIEF MISCELLANEOUS HOPI PAPERS, by H. R. Voth. The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition.
Field Museum of Natural History. Publication 157. *Anthropological Series, Vol. XI, No. 2. Chicago, U. S. A. February* 1912. pp. 149, 8vo.

—— Voth, H. R.
THE ORAIBI MARAU CEREMONY, by H. R. Voth. The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition.
Field Museum of Natural History. Publication 156. *Anthropological Series, Vol. XI, No.* 1. *Chicago, U. S. A. February,* 1912. pp. 88, 8vo.

1913 Rohrer, Fred.
SALOON FIGHT AT BERNE, IND. Not a Novel but Real History. Truth Stranger than Fiction. By Fred Rohrer.
Published by The Berne Witness Company, Berne, Indiana, U. S. A. 1913. pp. 146, 8vo.

—— Grubb, S. M.
WHY I AM A MENNONITE. By S. M. Grubb. (Read at the Eastern District Conference, 1913).
pp. 8, P.

—— Krehbiel, J. J.
CHR. GRABER FAMILY TREE. Moempelgard, Einsiedel, Austria, Michelsdorf, Poland, Edwardsdorf, Russia, Kansas, Dakota.
1913. *Moundridge, Kansas.*

—— Krehbiel, J. J.
MOSES GOERING FAMILY TREE.
1913. *Moundridge, Kansas.*

1913 Krehbiel, J. J.
STUCKY FAMILY TREE.
1913. *Moundridge, Kansas.*

—— Krehbiel, J. J.
PETER KAUFMAN FAMILY TREE.
1913. *Moundridge, Kansas.*

—— Petter, Rudolph
HOSZ MAHEO HEESZISTOZ. Portions of the Old and New Testament. Translated and arranged by Rev. Rudolph Petter.
Printed in the interest of the Mennonite Mission among the Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma and Montana. Cantonment, Okla. 1913.

1914 Grubb, N. B.
IN MEMORIAM, REV. ANDREW B. SHELLY.
Compiled and Published by N. B. Grubb, Philadelphia, Pa., May, 1914.

—— KLEINER LIEDERSCHATZ . . . . Zweite revidierte Auflage.
Herold Book & Publishing Co., Newton, Kansas. 1914. pp. 135, large 16mo.

—— EINE KURZE CHRONIK DER FAMILIE LEHMANN. Bericht von Peter S. Lehmann und Peter Gilliom. Sowie ein Bericht der Reise von der Schweiz nach Amerika. Von Abraham Zurfluh. 1914.

—— Langenwalter, J. H., D. D.
THE IMMIGRATION OF MENNONITES INTO NORTH AMERICA. J. H. Langenwalter, D. D.
Bethel College Library, Publishers, Newton, Kansas. pp. 100, P.

1915 (?) Amstutz, P. B.
EVANGELIUM UND KRIEG EINANDER GEGENUEBER GESTELLT. Revidiert. Von P. B. Amstutz, Bluffton, Ohio.
pp. 96, P.

—— AN ARTICLE ON SECRET SOCIETIES.
Published by the Lodge Committee of the General Conference of Mennonites of N. America. pp. 15, P.

—— FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST MENNONITE CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA. 1865-1915. * * * Leviticus 25:11. Philadelphia, Pa., September 26th, October 3rd, Nineteen Hundred Fifteen.
The Harrison Press, Philadelphia. pp. 54, 8vo.

—— Harder, Gustav
EIN UEBERBLICK ueber die Missionstaetigkeit der Allgemeinen Konf. der Menn. von N. A. Bearbeitet von Br. Gustav Harder.
Herausgegeben von der Missionsbehoerde. 1915. pp. 32, P.

—— (?) Penner, H. D.
KURZE ANDACHTEN fuer die Schwestern und ihre Pflege-Befohlen in Bethel Diakonissenhospital, Newton, Kansas. Gesammelt und zusammengestellt von H. D. Penner.

1915 Penner, P. A.
KURZER BERICHT UEBER DIE ARBEIT UNTER AUSSAETZIGEN von P. A. Penner, Missionar der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten von Nord Amerika.
Champa, C. P., India. B. N. Ry. pp. 40, P.

—— Petter, Rodolphe
ENGLISH-CHEYENNE DICTIONARY. By Rev. Rodolphe Petter, Missionary to the Cheyenne Indians, 1891-(——) at Cantonment, Oklahoma. Printed entirely in the Interest of the Mennonite Mission among the Cheyenne Indians of Oklahoma and Montana.
Printed at Kettle Falls, Washington, U. S. A., Sept., 1913 *to July,* 1915. (*Printed entirely on the Gammeter Multigraph by Valdo Petter.*) pp. 1126, folio.

1916 BIBLE HISTORY in the Hopi Indian Language. By J. B. Epp. Old and New Testament.
1916. (*Grant Publishing House, 2827 Hyams St., Los Angeles, Cal.* at end). pp. 101, 8vo.

—— Grubb, W. H.
HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES OF BUTLER COUNTY, OHIO. By Rev. W. H. Grubb, Pastor of the Apostolic Mennonite Church, Trenton, Ohio.
Published by the Author, 1916. pp. 49, P.

1917 Habegger, Alfred
DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSIONARY INTEREST Among the Members of the General Conference. 1917.

—— Langenwalter, J. H.
CHRIST'S HEADSHIP OF THE CHURCH According to Anabaptist Leaders whose followers became Mennonites. J. H. Langenwalter, Dean of Mennonite Seminary.
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, 1917. pp. 187, 8vo.

1918 UNSER ALTES GLAUBENSBEKENNTNISS in abgekuerzter Darstellung herausgegeben von der Mennoniten-Gemeinde bei Beatrice in Nebraska. 1918. (*Herold, Newton, Kansas*). pp. 13, P.

—— BETHEL DEACONESS HOME AND HOSPITAL, Corner South Second and Pine Streets, Newton, Kansas. A Short Summary of the History of the Institution. A Call to Service for the Young Women of the Mennonite Church.
Published by the Board of Directors of the Bethel Deaconess Home and Hospital Society. 1918. pp. 45, long P.

—— Ris, Cornelis
MENNONITE ARTICLES OF FAITH . . . . . A Translation.
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. 1918. pp. 75, 8vo. GCL

1919 Enss, Gustav
DER MENSCH UND DIE MENSCHWERDUNG JESU CHRISTI. Gustav Enss,

Aeltester der Gemeinde Hoffnungsfeld, Moundridge, Kansas. Weiland Professor am Bethel College, Newton, Kansas.
Druck von Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas, pp. 46, P.

1919 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF BETHEL CHURCH, FORTUNA, MISSOURI.

—— Kliewer, J. W.
A SERMON ON CHRISTIAN AFTER WAR QUESTIONS, preached by President J. W. Kliewer of Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, on January 5, 1919.
Herold, Newton, Ks. pp. 12, P.

1920 (?) Langenwalter, J. H.
THE CHARGE OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST TO YOU.

—— Moyer, John F.
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE MENNONITE CHURCHES Composing the Middle District Conference. John F. Moyer, 1920. pp. 32, P.

—— Petter, Valdo
"LOVE ONE ANOTHER." John 15:12. A Parable. By Valdo Petter.
Published by the Author, 1920. *Rogers & Hall Co., Printers, Chicago.* pp. 75, P.

—— (?) Voth, H. R.
WEITERE FRAGEZEICHEN ueber die Inter-Kirchliche Weltbewegung. H. R. Voth. P.

—— Wedel, Cornelius H.
SKETCHES FROM CHURCH HISTORY FOR MENNONITE SCHOOLS. By Cornelius H. Wedel, late Professor in Bethel College. Translated by Gustav A. Haury, Professor in Bethel College.
Published by Direction of the Western District Conference of Mennonites of North America. Newton, Kansas. 1920. pp. 134, 12mo.

—— Smith, C. Henry, Ph. D.
THE MENNONITES. A Brief History of Their Origin and Later Development in Both Europe and America. C. Henry Smith, Ph. D., Professor of History in Bluffton College.
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. 1920. pp. 340, 8vo.

1921 Gottschall, W. S.
MENNONITE HISTORY (Household Edition), by W. S. Gottschall, Pastor, Swiss Mennonite Church, Bluffton, Ohio.
News Print, Bluffton, Ohio, 1921. pp. 84, P.

—— Jansen, Peter
MEMOIRS OF PETER JANSEN. The Record of a Busy Life. An Autobiography.
Published by the Author. Beatrice, Nebraska. 1921. pp. 140, 8vo.

—— Wedel, P. J.
EVOLUTION, DIE NEUE RELIGION DER WISSENSCHAFT. Vortrag von P. J.

Wedel, Bethel College Bible Course, 1923.
pp. 28, P.

1924 Gering, John J.
AFTER FIFTY YEARS. A brief discussion of the Swiss-German Mennonites from Russia who settled in South Dakota in 1874, by John J. Gering, A. M., LL. B.
Pine Hill Printery. 1924. (*Marion, South Dakota*). pp. 58, P.

—— Grubb, N. B.
A GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE GOTTSHALL FAMILY. Descendants of Rev. Jacob Gottshall. With the complete record of the descendants of William Ziegler Gottshall. Compiled by Rev. N. B. Grubb.
Published by the Gottshall Family Association. 1924. pp. 112, 8vo.

1924 MISSION QUARTERLY (Mission Quartalblatt) of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of N. A. Volume I, No. 1, November, 1924 (English and German Editions).
Published by the Home and Foreign Mission Boards of the G. C. of Menn. of N. A.

—— Rupp, Jakob
ENTSTEHUNG UND AUFLOESUNG DER GEMEINDE ZU MAXWEILER bei Neuberg an der Donau in Deutschland und erste Pionier Jahre in Amerika. Geschichten gesammelt von Jakob Rupp unter seinen Geschwistern und in seinem 84ten Lebensjahr verfasst. Moundridge, Kansas. Januar, 1924.
Herold Druck, Newton, Kansas. pp. 24, P.

1925 Hartzler, John Ellsworth, Ph. D.
EDUCATION AMONG THE MENNONITES OF AMERICA. By John Ellsworth Hartzler, Ph. D. President of Witmarsum Theological Seminary. With Introduction by Professor Elmer E. S. Johnson, Ph. D.
The Central Mennonite Publishing Board, Danvers, Illinois, 1925. pp. 195, 8vo.

—— Peters, H. P.
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AMONG THE MENNONITES IN KANSAS. A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts (Bluffton) in Candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts (Department of Religious Education). By H. P. Peters.
Hillsboro, Kansas. 1925. pp. 221, 12mo.

—— Smith, C. Henry, and Hirschler, E. J.
THE STORY OF BLUFFTON COLLEGE. Edited by C. Henry Smith and E. J. Hirschler.
Published by Bluffton College, June, 1925, *in Commemoration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of its Founding. Berne Witness Print.* pp. 296, 8vo.

—— Ris, Cornelis
MENNONITE ARTICLES OF FAITH . . . .
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. 1925. pp. 75, 8vo.

1925 The Catechism . . . .
Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. 1925. pp. 32, 32mo.

1926 Katechismus . .. . .
1926. *Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana.* pp. 80, 32mo.

—— Krehbiel, H. J.
Mennonites of America. A paper prepared for and read at the Bible Course at Bethel College, January, 1925, by H .P. Krehbiel.
Herold Publishing Co., Newton, Kansas. 1926. pp. 21, P.

—— Krehbiel, H. J.
A Trip Through Europe. A Plea for the Abolition of War and a Report of the 400th Anniversary of the Mennonite Denomination. H. J. Krehbiel.
1926. *Herald Publishing Co., Newton, Kansas.* pp. 107, 12vo.

1927 Lehman, G. A., Editor
Mennonite Hymn Book.
Published by the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America. Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana. 1927. pp. 338, 51, 8vo.

? Grubb, S. M.
The Battle of the Birds.

—— Voth, H. R.
Die Wichtigkeit der personlichen Arbeit. H. R. Voth.

—— Penner and Richert
Kurzgefasste Glaubensbekenntniss der Mennoniten Gemeinde. Zweite Auflage. Penner und Richert.

LITERATURE OF MINOR GROUPS

1900 Sprunger, J. A.
Das Evangelium in Vorbildern. Die Opfer und die Priester Israels. Von J. A. Sprunger. Zweiter Band.
Im Verlag von The Mennonite Publishing House, Berne, Indiana. pp. 347, 8vo. MPH

1912 (?) Hager, J. F.
The Value of God's Whole Word. Our Calling, Our Inheritance, Light on Prophecies: Especially on the Book of Revelation. * * Rev. 22:17.
J. F. Hager, Pandora, Ohio. Published at Scottdale, Pa. pp. 293, 8vo.

—— (?) Hager, John F.
Lichtsblick aus den 7 Sendschriften und der Offenbarung Johannes Kap. 1-3. John F. Hager, Pandora, Ohio.

1915 Herr, Eli
The Saint. His Character, his relation to God, to his fellow-believers, and to the world. By Eli Herr.
Lancaster, Penna. Examiner Printing House. 1915. pp. 95, 16mo.

1915 Schwartz, David
THE FALLEN TABERNACLE OF DAVID IS RAISED AGAIN IN THE PRESENT DISPENSATION. A well grounded treatise of how the Lord Jesus Christ has built up His Kingdom upon this Earth and in the Present Time. For a sincere invitation (by the grace of the Lord) unto all who love the truth, to take refuge within His Kingdom or church and to save their souls. By David Schwartz, Berne, Ind.
pp. 31, 16mo.

1917 CONFESSION OF FAITH, RULES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE DEFENCELESS MENNONITE CHURCH Revised and Adopted at the Annual Conference at Archbold, Ohio, August 30th, In the Year of Our Lord 1917. * * * * * * * * Eph. 5:25-27. * * I. Cor. 14:40.
Printed by The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 2812 *Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Ill.* 1917. pp. 64, P.

1920 Erenpreiss, Andreas
EIN SENDBRIEF An alle diejenigen, so sich ruehmen und beduenken lassen, dass sie ein abgesondertes Volk von der Welt sein wollen, als sonderlich die sich auch Brueder und Schwestern nennen, als Mennisten, Schweizer Brueder und andere mehr, wo sie hin und wieder in viel Orten und Landen, in dunkeln, wolkichten, neblichten Tagen dieser Welt zerstreuet sind. Bruederliche Gemeinschaft das hoechste Gebot der Liebe betreffend. * * * Matth. 5,a. * * * 2. Petri 1, b. Andreas Erenpreiss. Anno 1652.
Aufs neue herausgegeben von den Hutterischen Bruedern in Amerika. 1920. *Scottdale, Pa.* pp. 189, 12mo.

1922 St.(auffer), J.
EINE CHRONIK ODER GESCHICHT-BUECHLEIN der sogenannten Mennonisten Gemeinde . . . . Zweite Auflage durch Joh. D. Hochstettler.
Gedruckt vom Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa.

1900 LEKTIONSHEFT. A German Quarterly, containing International Sunday School Lessons with Helps.
Published by Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, McPherson, Kansas. pp. 32.

1909 Fast, M. B.
MEINE REISE NACH RUSSLAND UND ZURUECK. Von M. B. Fast. Nebst Autobiographie des Verfassers und Kurze Geschichte der Mennoniten bis jetzt.
Scottdale, Penna. 1909. pp. 235, 12mo.

1910 Fast, M. B.
MEINE REISE NACH RUSSLAND UND ZURUECK . . . . Zweite verbesserte Auflage.
Scottdale, Penna. 1910. pp. 238, 12mo.

1924 Harms, J. F.
GESCHICHTE DER MENNONITEN BRUEDER-GEMEINDE, von J. F. Harms. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Jubilaeums-Komitees.

Verlag von Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas. pp. 342, 12mo.

1924 Zur neuen Heimat. Die Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika nach Vortraegen gehalten auf den Festen zum 50-jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Auswanderung in Hillsboro, Kansas, am 19. Oktober, und in Buhler, Kansas, am 26. Oktober, 1924.
Druck und Verlag von Mennonite Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas. pp. 56, 8vo.

1910 The Christian Evangel. A Messenger of the Gospel. (Now published monthly by the Central Mennonite Publication Board, Berne, Indiana, and Bloomington, Ill.)
Official organ of the Central Conference Mennonite Church.
First issue 1910, July. Editors to date: A. B. Rutt, 1910-15; Lee Lantz, 1915-1916; Ben Esch, 1916-1919; A. S. Bechtel, 1919-1920; L. B. Haigh, 1920-1923; W. B. Weaver, 1923-1925; H. E. Nunemaker, 1925-1926; W. B. Weaver, 1926—

1922 Year Book of the Central Conference of Mennonites for the Year of Our Lord 1922. Rev. W. H. Grubb, Editor. First Year of Publication.
Published by Resolution of Conference. pp. 36.
Editors: W. H. Grubb, 1922-25; H. E. Nunemaker, 1926; W. B. Weaver, 1927-1928.

1926 Weaver, William B., M. A.
History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church. William B. Weaver, M. A.
Published by the Author. Danvers, Illinois. 1926. pp. 254, 8vo.

1905 Wiebe, Jacob A.
Das Entstehen der Krimer Mennoniten Brueder Gemeinde in Sued-Russland im Jahre 1869.
"Rundschau", Elkhart, Indiana, 1905. pp. 8, P.

1915 Der Wahrheitsfreund.
Gedruckt und herausgegeben vom Krimmer Mennonite Brueder Publikationshaus, 2812 *Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Ill.*
The weekly organ of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, edited from its origin by D. M. Hofer.

1918 Sonntagsschulheft.
Published quarterly by the K. M. B. Publishing House, 2812 *Lincoln Ave. Chicago. D. M. Hofer and Jos. W. Tschetter, Editors.*

1924 Hofer, D. M.
Die Hungersnot in Russland und Unsere Reise um die Welt, von D. M. Hofer.
1924. *K. M. B. Publishing House,* 2812 *Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.* pp. 575, 8vo.

LITERATURE OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES OF WESTERN CANADA

1908 Toews, Johann
DAS WACHSAME AUGE GOTTES AUS DEN HINTERLASSENEN SCHRIFTEN DES JOHANN TOEWS. Gesammelt von seinem Sohn, Aelt. Peter Toews, Kleefeld, Manitoba.
Gedruckt von der Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Indiana. 1908. pp. 24, P.

1911 Toews, P.
EINE SELTSAME BEGEBENHEIT. Angehend der durch Peter von Rielen von Schidlitz bei Danzig in Preussen in Druck gegebenen Menno Simons Schriften. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von P. Toews. Hochstadt, Man. 1911.
The Gretna Printery, Gretna, Man. pp. 27, P.

1912 Toews, Peter
DER KOESTLICHERE WEG. ** I. Kor. 12, 31. In Liedern. ***** Psalm 71, 23, 24. **** Eph. 5, 19. Col. 3, 16. Von Peter Toews, Stern, Alberta. Maerz, 1912. pp. 14, P.

1923 Peters, G. A.
DIE HUNGERSNOT IN DEN MENNONITISCHEN KOLONIEN IN SUED-RUSSLAND, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der Molotschna-Kolonie. Und die Amerikanisch Mennonitische Hilfe (A. M. R.) wie sie ein Mennonit aus Russland gesehen hat. Kurz dargestellt von G. A. Peters im Herbst 1923.
Zu beziehen durch: Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa. und Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington St., Winnipeg, Man. pp. 34, P.

—— Peters, G. A.
GEDICHTE, BAND I.
Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington Str., Winnipeg, Man. Zu beziehen durch Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa. pp. 32, P.

—— Peters, G. A.
GEDICHTE, (BAND II).
Zu beziehen durch Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., und Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington Str., Winnipeg, Man. pp. 21, P.

—— Peters, G. A.
MENSCHENLOS IN SCHWERER ZEIT. Aus dem Leben der Mennoniten Sued-Russlands. Von G. A. Peters.
Zu beziehen durch Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., und Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington Str., Winnipeg, Man. pp. 61, P.

—— Peters, G. A.
WEHRLOS? Von G. A. Peters.

Zu beziehen durch Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., und Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington Str., Winnipeg, Man. pp. 18, P.

1924 Klassen, D.
SIEHE DER HERR KOMMT. Eine Sammlung von Gedichten und Liedern ueber das Kommen des Herrn. Fuer Christliche Jugendvereine zum Vortragen. Gesammelt und zusammengestellt von D. Klassen.
Zu beziehen durch: Rundschau Publishing House, 672 Arlington St., Winnipeg, Man. pp. 16, P.

—— (?) MEINE FLUCHT. A. K.
Wird im Buchhandel nicht verkauft. Uebersetzung in andere Sprachen und Abdruck in Blaettern u.s.w., verboten. Ich bitte, keine Exemplare nach Europa zu Senden. pp. 24, P. (*Printed at Winnipeg.*)

—— (?) BILDER AUS SOWETTRUSSLAND. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik Raeterusslands. A. K.
pp. 173, 12mo. (*Printed at Winnipeg.*)

—— (?) Schroeder, Heinz
MEINE FLUCHT AUS DEM ROTEN PARADIESE. Von Heinz Schroeder.
Zu beziehen durch Henry Schroeder, E. 129 Herman Str., Philadelphia, Pa. pp. 77, 8vo.

1924 KANADISCHE MENNONITEN. Bunte Bilder aus dem 50 jaehrigen Siedlerleben. Zum Jubilaeumsjahr 1924. Von Novokampus.
Verlag: Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Man., Canada. pp. 74, 12mo.

1925 KANADISCHE MENNONITEN . . . . Zweite Auflage.
Verlag: Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Man., Canada. pp. 74, 12mo.

1926 KATECHISMUS oder Kurze und einfache Unterweisung aus der Heiligen Schrift. In Fragen und Antworten. Durchgesehen und neu aufgelegt nach dem alten Text; zum Gebrauch in Kirchen und Schulen. Zwoelfte Auflage.
1927. *Druck und Verlag: "Rundschau Publishing House", Winnipeg, Man., Canada.*
Second Title: GLAUBENSBEKENNTNISS DER MENNONITEN IN MANITOBA, NORD-AMERIKA. pp. xii, 68, 48.

1927 KATECHISMUS . . . . Vierzehnte Auflage.
1927. *Druck und Verlag: "Rundschau Publishing House", Winnipeg, Man., Canada.*

—— KATECHISMUS . . . . Dreizehnte Auflage.
1926. *Druck und Verlag: "Rundschau Publishing House", Winnipeg, Man., Canada.*

1927 J. P. Klassen
Reiseskizzen ueber die Auswanderung im Jahre 1923.
Kruemlein, Gedichte. pp. 53, P.
Wegeblumen, Gedichte. pp. 43, P.
Dunkle Tage. pp. 32, P.

—— Klassen, D.
Die Bibel - Gottes Wort. Eine Sammlung Gedichten und Liedern ueber Gotteswort. Fuer Christliche Jugendvereine gesammelt und zusammengestellt.) pp. 15, P.

—— Janzen, J.
Denn Meine Augen haben Deinen Heiland gesehen. Sein Blut. Eine Erzaehlung von J. Janzen. pp. 48, P.
Denn Meine Augen haben Deinen Heiland gesehen. Du aber hast Dich meiner Seele herzlich angenommen. Erzaehlung von J. Janzen. pp. 63, P.

1927 Wiens, Johann
Eine Hilfe in den grossen Noeten. Meinem Volke hueben und drueben, das hin und her verstreut wohnt, aus Liebe. pp. 79, P.

—— Friesen, H. D.
Blumen und Blueten. Gedichte on H. D. F. und anderen. pp. 36, P.

—— Neufeld, Heinrich A.
Handbuechlein fuer Prediger und Gemeindeglieder. pp. 32, P.

LITERATURE OF THE MENNONITE BRETHREN IN CHRIST CHURCH

1924 Doctrines and Discipline of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church.
The discipline of the church was first issued in 1888 and has been issued in new and often revised editions at four-year intervals regularly, the last appearing in 1924. It is published by the General Conference Executive Committee.

1903 Huffman, Jasper Abraham
Redemption Completed. A Treatise on the Work of Complete Redemption, by Jasper Abraham Huffman.
The Bethel Publishing Company, New Carlisle, Ohio. Copyright, 1903. pp. 212, 8vo.
Has gone through at least six editions.

Sunday School Literature

1910 The Sunday School Banner. Issued Weekly. A four-page, large-size folder.

—— The Bethel Bible School Quarterly Interdenominational.

—— The Bethel Bible School Teachers Quarterly Interdenominational.

—— The Bethel Junior Quarterly.

—— The Bethel Primary Paper.

1915 THE BETHEL INTERMEDIATE QUARTERLY.
J. A. Huffman has edited all the Sunday School Literature from the beginning.

1911 Lambert, Rose
HADJIN AND THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES. By Rose Lambert, for nearly twelve years a Missionary of the United Orphanage and Mission Society stationed at Hadjin, Turkey.
Fleming H. Revell Company. pp. 106, 12mo.

1913 Huffman, Jasper Abraham
OLD TESTAMENT MESSAGES OF THE CHRIST.

—— Huffman, Jasper Abraham
THE TWIN MEMORIALS. The Sacrament (The Memorial of Sacrifice), and The Washing of The Saints' Feet (The Memorial of Service). By J. A. Huffman.
The Bethel Publishing Co., New Carlisle, Ohio. pp. 24, P.

1914 Huffman, Jasper Abraham
JOB, A WORLD EXAMPLE. By Rev. Jasper Abraham Huffman. Introduction by Evangelist Bud Robinson.
Published by the Bethel Publishing Company, New Carlisle, Ohio, U. S. A. pp. 94, 12mo.

1915 Huffman, Jasper Abraham
THE GOSPEL OF THE TITHE OR CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP. By Jasper Abraham Huffman.
Published by Bethel Publishing Company, New Carlisle, Ohio, U. S. A. pp. 23, P.

—— Huffman, Jasper Abraham
UPPER ROOM MESSAGES.

—— Huffman, Jasper Abraham
YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE CHRIST LIFE.

1920 Huffman, Jasper Abraham
HISTORY OF THE MENNONITE BRETHREN IN CHRIST CHURCH. Jasper Abraham Huffman, A.B. B.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Bluffton College and Mennonite Seminary, Bluffton, Ohio, Editor-in-Chief. Published by order of the Executive Board of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ.
The Bethel Publishing Company, New Carlisle, Ohio, U.S.A. pp.282, 8vo.

1922 Eby, Mrs. D. C.
AT THE MERCY OF TURKISH BRIGANDS. A True Story. By Mrs. D. C. Eby (Missionary to Turkey). Introduction by Rev. J. A. Huffman, A. B., D. D.
The Bethel Publishing Company, New Carlisle, Ohio. pp. 285, 8vo.

1924 Huffman, Jasper A.
THE PROGRESSIVE UNFOLDING OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE. By Jasper A.

Huffman, D. D. With an introduction by Prof. Charles R. Erdman, D. D., Princeton, New Jersey.
New York, George H. Doran Company. pp. 186, 8vo.

1926 Huffman, Jasper A.
A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. By J. A. Huffman.
Published by Bethel Publishing Co., New Carlisle, O. U. S. A. pp. 176, 8vo.

1926 Huffman, J. A.
MAKING AND KEEPING THE HOME CHRISTIAN. P.

—— Huffman, J. A.
THE MEANING OF PENTECOST. P.

1927 Pannabecker, J. N.
SUGGESTIVE BIBLE STUDIES, MATTHEW. By J. N. Pannabecker.
Bethel Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana. pp. (76), 4to.